

Doctoral Dissertation

For Doctoral Degree

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The Origin and Development of the Japanese Concept of Omotenashi

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Abstract

The main purpose of this dissertation is to clarify the mechanism of creating customer value in *omotenashi*, that is the Japanese counterpart to hospitality. Here, the term “*omotenashi*” is not limited to the hospitality service or industry. Instead, I use the term in a broad sense. To make it more concrete, I start the first chapter with two everyday examples in Japan. First, at a *karaoke* party, even though there are no clearly specified rules, members all innately obey the unwritten rules, acting as if there are roles allocated to each individual participant based on their age and standing. When selecting a song, rather than a song one can sing well or wants to sing, participants choose songs that will fit the mood and flow of the occasion and venue. Though participants prepare for the occasion, they do not show off their ability. All the participants always “read the air,” and act properly. This is the core of *omotenashi*, based on sympathy and consideration. Everyone puts the whole value before his/her own interest. In addition, they feel pleasure for making contributions to enhancing the whole value. Indeed, as the party succeeds on the whole, in other words, the values of the occasion (“*ba*”) increase, each participant can get more value for him/herself. Then, why do they act in that way?

The other example shown to describe the spirit and behavior of *omotenashi* is a comfortable relationship between employee and customer at a long-established department store. The employees (irrespective of their department) are ready to do anything for the customer (irrespective of the purchase). It is not because they want to sell more or make a good impression on the customer. Rather, the employees regard *omotenashi* as a spiritual discipline. And the customers appreciate the consideration. In the department store, employees and customers co-create the value of the department. Again, why do they act in that way?

These questions are important because the spirit of *omotenashi* links contemporary business practice with ancient tradition handed down carefully to the present. In other words, Japanese business practice has inherited the spirit (and behavior) of *omotenashi*, not superficially but in a profound sense.

In this dissertation, I go back to the typical scenes of *omotenashi* in the 7th century, to clarify the core and nature of *omotenashi*. The unique value creation of *renga* (chain poems) gathering is also discussed, as the literary genre played a great role to diffuse the spirit (and education) of *omotenashi* throughout the country. While I deal with historical documents and classical literary works for analysis, this dissertation pursues how the concept of *omotenashi* has had influence on contemporary business practice. Research

of the origin and development of omotenashi give us the key or viewpoint to approach some contemporary misunderstandings that may arise between service providers and customers.

This dissertation deals with three research questions. (1) What, how and why are customer values created in omotenashi? (2) How does the level of education on the part of participants have effects on the individual value in omotenashi? (3) How has the omotenashi spirit or mechanism been inherited by contemporary business practice? An additional question appeared as a result of the research: (4) What is the difference between omotenashi of a high context culture and hospitality of a low context culture?

First, as to the characteristics of customer value created in omotenashi, and the mechanism of creating customer value, analysis of the value of participation in the banquets in the 7th century leads to the findings as follows: in the banquet, the participants prioritized the value of the whole place, or “ba” rather than their own (selfish) purposes related to exhibiting their skill and getting acquainted with influential persons. They voluntarily attempted to enliven the atmosphere and enhance the whole values of “ba.” Participants were required to do these things:(a) to read the consideration of the host, including the intention of omotenashi which was implied in things or decoration, (b) to play their roles (according to implicit rules), make their poems suitable for the occasion, and behave properly. They should make efforts to boost the mood based on “kata” (or a formalized set of behaviors) to respond to the host’s concerns, and (c) to read the air with each other. Participants felt satisfied and pleased when they recognized the enhancement of the value of “ba,” and when the participants thought that they themselves were engaged in, or contributed to, the enhancement of the value of “ba.” Peoples in the *Manyo* era share the spirit and behavior with us today.

Regarding the second research question, the individual values of participation depend on whether the customer has a high level of education or not. Omotenashi behavior of the provider is often conveyed indirectly and implicitly. In addition, omotenashi is usually carried out by following the “kata”, but the meaning lies in breaking the “kata” a little. The guest is expected to have a certain education to recognize where and why the “kata” has been broken, which is important to understand the host’s feelings.

As to the third question, I introduce the example of Mitsukoshi Department Store, which has the roots of their customer service in the spirit of omotenashi, in the sense that the employees put the value of the whole store (Mitsukoshi) before their own sales. At Mitsukoshi Department Store, customers who experience the omotenashi behavior from the employees often treat other customer in a similar way;

Here the omotenashi behavior from the employee to the customer develops into the omotenashi behavior between customers. In this section, Modified Grounded Theory Approach (M-GTA) is applied to analyze the letters of gratitude from their customers.

Regarding the fourth question which arose as a result of the research, on the difference between omotenashi of high context cultures and the hospitality of low context cultures, I conducted a comparative analysis between the Imperial Hotel, the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, and Kagaya, a traditional, high class Japanese *ryokan* or inn. On a superficial level, they have much in common between the Japanese style of omotenashi and the western style of hospitality. However, there is a difference. Hospitality behavior in a low context culture is easy to understand while omotenashi behavior in high context culture is not. In hospitality of a low-context culture, the customer is not expected to have knowledge of the kata or consideration, and thus, the hospitality behavior is understandable for anyone. In contrast, omotenashi depends on the customer's comprehension, as it is based on the assumption that host and guest share the context. When the behavior is understood properly, it will bring deep emotion. When customers decipher the implied omotenashi and express their feelings (for example, gratitude, joy, etc.), the employees will get a deep pleasure beyond financial rewards. And it will lead to further motivation for the employee, and to further engagement on the part of the customers in turn.

The main practical implications of this research are as follows. It is important for every participant to feel that he/she is contributing to the whole value of "ba." Thus, it is advisable for the staff and managers that they should introduce some systems in which every participant can make a contribution and feel satisfaction. Regarding rewards, people with an omotenashi spirit are intrinsically motivated to provide excellent service for customers. On this point, it is not preferable that managers put too much emphasis on the financial rewards for the employees. Instead, they should attempt to make effective systems for employees to improve their intrinsic motivation.

As to limitations and future directions, I did not discuss *shitsurae*, or the space where omotenashi activity is conducted. In this dissertation, it was necessary to focus purely on the relationship between the customer and the provider.

I believe the spirit of omotenashi connects to the very concept of the Japanese language in essence. In the future, I would like to pursue this research on omotenashi together with other scholars of Japanese linguistics and comparative linguistics and compare approaches and findings, especially with a view to improving cross-cultural communication.

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I Introduction

1-1 Purpose of this Dissertation

The main purpose of this doctoral dissertation is to clarify the mechanism of creating customer value in omotenashi in Japan, while also clarifying the influence of omotenashi on contemporary marketing and business practices in Japan. In the research, another theme will appear and be discussed on the differences between omotenashi in high context culture and hospitality in low context culture.

I would like to start this chapter by introducing the following two scenes.

Scene 1. A karaoke booth in a business district. Five or six men and women in their twenties to forties wearing suits are gathered for an *uchiage* (job-well-done party) for their team. The oldest is in his 40s and appears to be the seniormost person. A young man spontaneously orders food and drink for all the members and another man in his mid-twenties takes the mic first. "Today, can I sing XX!?" It's a song that everyone knows, with a good tempo. He isn't a good singer, but he has a powerful voice which suddenly enlivens the place.

More songs are sung one after another with everyone taking turns at the mic. The younger members get excited, sing along and dance to songs by pop groups like AKB48 and EXILE. And then, at just the right time, someone chooses a song and people ask him to sing his specialty song: "Chief, please sing this! It's the one you always sing!" "Sing it, chief!" All the members know this, so when the seniormost person is there nobody else will ever sing that song. In addition, it is an unwritten rule to sit still and listen attentively when someone sings. However, people may clap to the beat sometimes.

After a while, ballads and slow songs are performed, and people are prompted by those around them to join in singing duets. There are even some songs that people seem to have been practicing for this occasion. At one point, a young member takes out his mobile phone and is disciplined. It is against the rules to look bored at a karaoke party.

Finally, the seniormost person says, "I guess it's time to leave. Okay, let's sing something and call it a night." He appoints another young man to choose the last song, which has a good rhythm and with which everyone can sing along. Whether or not they can feel satisfied that the entire evening was "fun" rides on this last song. Everyone knows the young man's intention, so they start humming together. When only men are present, they sometimes choose the kind of song that will have them putting their arms around each other's shoulders and raising their voices. When it is over, they say to each other

"good job" and "thank you" as they prepare to return home.

This is a very common scene in Japan. Anyone who has worked at a Japanese company has done this at least once. Pointing out its characteristic elements, we see the following: even though there are no clearly specified rules, the members all innately obey them, acting as if there are roles allocated to them based on their age and standing. When selecting a song, rather than a song one can sing well or wants to sing, they choose songs that will fit the mood and flow of the occasion and the venue. Everyone (with no exceptions) makes an effort to make the occasion exciting (and, moreover, they do it naturally). They make preparations in advance to enliven the event. Despite this, they do not show off their skill. Rather than emphasize themselves, they follow the mood and back one another up.

Scene 2. A long-established department store in Nihombashi, Tokyo. At the sales counter of a watch retailer, a customer is asking questions about repairing his deceased mother's watch. A female clerk is explaining everything to her with a smile and in great detail. She even writes down the things that are difficult to understand and gives these notes to the customer. The customer bows and says, "Thank you," before leaving with a relieved expression. "Please come back if you have any questions," the clerk says with a smile, seeing her off even though the customer did not buy anything.

At a different sales counter, a clerk learns that the product a customer wants to purchase is not in stock, so the clerk without hesitation calls a nearby rival store to inquire. When the clerk learns they have it in stock, she shows the customer a map and explains how to get there. "Route A is shorter, but since it is raining you may want to take route B to avoid getting wet." The customer says with a somewhat apologetic face as he bows and leaves, "That's a great help. Sorry I couldn't buy it here. I will come again." The clerk smiles and replies "On the contrary, I apologize for causing you trouble by not having it in stock".

On another floor, a customer says with a smile to the clerk, "I am not in a hurry, so please help that other person first." Whether a customer is buying a 200 yen item or a 20,000 yen item, the clerks still treat them with the same friendly and respectful service.

The clerks smile at everyone and display no sign of "trying to sell things." They are endlessly polite and friendly. They sincerely attempt to meet the customers' desires, their attitudes do not change based on whether or not customers make purchases, and they tell them "please feel free to come again

anytime." Customers bow their heads and say "Thank you" to such clerks. The customers are also considerate and thoughtful toward each other. Both the clerks and the customers seem to be satisfied with the store. They really relish such a pleasant atmosphere.

The examples above describe a karaoke party and department store customer service. Although they appear to be unrelated on the surface, the two of them share a common feature, which is deeply related to this research. Let us consider these two scenes once again.

It is the fact that the first scene is not unique to the modern office worker. The Japanese people of 1,200 years ago also participated in the same kind of parties, followed the same unspoken rules, and enlivened the atmosphere together. We can see this in the poems made at banquets of the time, which comprise most of the world's oldest anthology of verses called *Manyo-shu*, which was compiled in the Nara period. For the participants, understanding the unspoken rules was a requirement for forging their careers. Because the rules were unspoken, "whether one knew them or not" and "whether one could act appropriately or not" were factors which separated insiders from outsiders.

Looking at the second scene, attentiveness and a subtle consideration of the feelings of customers is related to the spirit of *chanoyu*, the tea ceremony. At *chanoyu* gatherings, the host always pays attention to the customers and reads the atmosphere of the room. Additionally, the customers understand and appreciate the attentiveness of the host. In the process of *omotenashi*, the host and the customers often exchange their roles—the host also receives consideration of *omotenashi* from the customer, as in the department store described above.

In all these cases, people are not adhering to their own benefits but rather thinking about those of others. Also, the other party understands and reciprocates it. When they behave according to the atmosphere and think about each other, it brings them pleasure as well. I believe that this is the true origin of the Japanese concept of *omotenashi*, and the key to explaining customer values created in *omotenashi*.

This research intends to clarify what, how and why customer values are created in *omotenashi*, while pursuing its essence, transformed and manifested in various ways up to the present through historical changes.

The meaning of "omotenashi"

Even without mentioning the presentation of Japan's 2020 Olympic bid, the country has presented omotenashi as a symbol of the Japanese nation. In actuality, Japan is noted for its measures to welcome tourists, and today omotenashi has become a fashionable term in this country. In addition to unique programs being decided upon in local regions, there has also existed since 2016 an "omotenashi standard certifications" system for businesses with outstanding service, as well as many other private sector research and support groups.

On the other hand, there is also an opposing wind beginning to blow against omotenashi, with opinions such as "Omotenashi is a form of coercion,¹" "it is a mistaken strategy,²" or that "Omotenashi will not survive on a global stage³."

Examining each of these in turn, we can see that omotenashi has been used to express many different meanings. It can sometimes simply mean outstanding service. It can also mean "Japanese style" service. In a broader sense, it also refers to services in the tourism industry around the world. There are also times when customer service and reception are referred to as omotenashi. Or it may be regarded as synonymous with hospitality. In the average person's home, it is also used to mean inviting guests over for dinner.

Here in this dissertation, omotenashi means "treating others including (but not limited to) customers with respect." It can be seen both in commercial settings and private circles, as Lashley(2000) suggested in dealing with hospitality.

Basically, omotenashi derives from "motenashi," a noun form of the verb "motenasu."("O" in the word is an honorific expression.) The verb "motenasu" is based on the verb "nasu" meaning "to treat as, or to do as," etc., with the prefix "mote" attached to it. According to Nihon Kokugo Daijiten dictionary, the prefix "mote" "gives a subtle nuance to the verb it is attached to, or strengthens the meaning." To translate this, it would mean "take a certain attitude intentionally, do one's best to respond to others, handle something with care." In a dialog with sociologist Tetsuji Yamamoto, *The Tale of Genji* researcher Sadakazu Fujii focuses on the "mote" in "motenasu," promoting the idea that it has the nuance of "being forced to hold or do something" by someone else. Furthermore, he suggested that the word "motenasu" itself made the relationship between speaker and the other person invisible and creates

¹ For example, see Enomoto(2017)

² <http://u-note.me/note/47503562>

³ https://honto.jp/article/business/kankou_yanagiuchi.html

a "completely undifferentiated" state with the lines between active and passive blurred. (Fujii, pp. 204-5)

Though the word "motenasu" has been used to mean "to receive warmly" since the middle ages, originally it meant behaving intentionally in a certain way when placed in certain occasions or situations, or "ba."

The vantage point of omotenashi research

Many researchers dealt with omotenashi from aesthetic and emotional standpoints focusing on *chanoyu*, but after the year 2000, it has been discussed within service and management of restaurants and hotels, as a category of marketing. Sato and Al-alsheikh (2014) showed that hospitality and omotenashi were not the same thing in their research when comparing Kagaya *ryokan* (one of the oldest Japanese inns famed for omotenashi) and the Ritz-Carlton. Kobayashi, et. al, (2014) adopted a "scientific approach" to classify value co-creation in Japanese style creative service provided at restaurants.

However, omotenashi behavior is not limited to specific places such as *ryokan* and restaurant--and neither is it fixed by the strict roles of "customer" and "service provider"--but rather observed in everyday settings involving everyone. With a sense of omotenashi, people behave properly with an awareness of "ba" with consideration for one another. The karaoke party mentioned at the beginning of this chapter is a good example. The participants were aware of the setting, obeyed the unspoken rules, and played the roles given to them. They were satisfied by their contribution to the whole atmosphere. Even though it was not overtly taught to them, they somehow know their role. They felt satisfaction to prioritize each other and make the whole "ba" pleasant. How and why did they behave in such an "omotenashi" way? What do they get from such behavior?

From those small questions, three research questions are derived for this doctoral dissertation. The first question is related to the mechanism of creating omotenashi: what, how and why customer values are created in omotenashi. The second one is related to education on the part of customer: how the level of education or knowledge of canonical literature influences the customer value. The third is related to contemporary business in Japan: how Japanese business today, especially the business of retailing as well as hotels, has inherited the omotenashi spirit or mechanism throughout the history.

I would like to deal with these research questions, since there is a dearth of study on the mechanism of creating customer value within a social and cultural context, though Lashley (2000) has pointed out

the importance of the viewpoint. When I consider *omotenashi* within the Japanese cultural context, it is necessary to pay attention to the role of the customer, which has been also omitted from the previous literature.

In this research I will deal with customer value in *omotenashi*, based on a broader sense of the word as described above, delving down into the culturally shared "spirit" rather than specific, commercial places. During the research, I will take up literary and cultural achievements as cases. Literature is generally seen to be a reflection of eras and societies, and manifests feelings and values among those.

Manyo-shu which I bring up in chapter 3, is the world's oldest anthology of verse, and it describes how Japanese people attended work-related banquets over 1200 years ago where they followed unspoken rules and shared social enjoyment. *Renga* that I discuss in Chapter 5 is a literary form wherein about ten participants take turns to add to a phrase written by the previous person to create a single poem together. In this case, rather than one person standing out, it is important to increase the value of the overall work, and being able to contribute to that gives one satisfaction. Furthermore, professional *renga* poets appeared in order to teach a wide social base of learners poem-writing know-how, which spread the literary form of *renga* from the daimyo to the common people. It is *renga* gatherings that provided the basis for *chanoyu*. If we are to say that *chanoyu* is the spirit of *omotenashi*, we should also consider the *renga* gathering, and furthermore banquet songs in *Manyo-shu*.

Traditionally, this level of attention has not been paid to literature in marketing research. My intention in this research is a multidisciplinary approach covering literature, comparative literature and marketing. I will discover the manifested forms of *omotenashi* and analyze them within the field of literature, which dynamically changes along with the times and society.

Before explaining the research question and the research methodology of each chapter, I will emphasize three points on the approaches to this doctoral dissertation.

First, although I adopt a literary and cultural viewpoint to my research, this research is not narrowly defined historical or cultural research but rather marketing research. In other words, literary genres and works are used as clues for analyzing how *omotenashi* manifests and changes within the Japanese cultural context.

Secondly, this dissertation covers history, but rather than focusing on phenomena of the past, it is written with an eye toward modern phenomena and issues of marketing. I believe that the essence of *omotenashi*, which I clarify in this research, can both directly and indirectly provide suggestions for

current problems surrounding omotenashi, as mentioned above. That is not all. Rather than just being superficial behavior, omotenashi as a spirit is still deeply engrained in modern Japanese culture, and it still impacts our form of communication. Omotenashi seems to be an essential element when thinking of corporate culture or value co-creation internally to and externally to a company.

Thirdly, rather than focus on the forms and industry-related omotenashi, I focus on the emotional core spirit which maintains omotenashi, possessed by both the providing and receiving sides. In this research, I focus on how the providing and receiving sides' behavior leads to successful omotenashi, and how to increase the value of an occasion, or “ba”.

1-2 Structure of this Dissertation with Research Methodology and Theoretical Framework

In this research, I apply qualitative research to clarify the characteristics of omotenashi, with a case study method. One of the theoretical frameworks I have based the whole dissertation on is the theory of high context culture/low context culture by Edward Hall (1977). The term high context culture refers to a culture which shares values, experiences, knowledge, etc. at an advanced level, wherein not all aspects of communication are explicitly stated, people understand unspoken subtexts from one another. Implicit meaning is valued, and vague expressions tend to be preferred. People are required to be able to read context. Japan is an example of a high context society. Conversely, a low context society prefers expressions that are explicit and easy for anyone to understand.

The other theoretical frameworks which I have utilized on are Service Dominant Logic by Lusch and Vargo, and Service Logic by Christian Grönroos of the Nordic school. In Service Dominant Logic, Lusch and Vargo introduce the idea of customer as cocreator of value. For them, “value is something that is co-created through the exchange, integration, and use of resources” and “the best that a firm can do is to provide a value proposition” (p.21). Grönroos puts focus on the roles of the customer as value creator, and concludes that “value for customers is created throughout the relationship by the customer, partly in interactions between the customer and the supplier or service provider. The focus is...on the customers' processes where value creation occurs.” (p.13). It is necessary to examine these two frameworks from the omotenashi point of view.

The structure of the next chapter and onward will be as follows, with research question and the

research methodology employed for each chapter. At the same time, I will list first appearances.⁴

Chapter II overviews the previous literature on hospitality, to show the necessity of dealing with the question of the creation of customer value from a cultural point of view.

In Chapter III, I deal with the banquets described in *Manyo-shu*, the oldest anthology of verse in Japan, to examine the characteristics of participants, including host and guests, of omotenashi. It is because the origin of the spirit of omotenashi seen in contemporary scenes can be traced back to the *Manyo* banquet. In other words, it is the prototype for omotenashi in high context culture, wherein people are considerate to one another, read situations, obey protocol and enrich or heighten their shared values at the same occasion. During the research, I clarify how the participants behaved to improve the whole values of “ba.” I also compare the *Manyo* banquet with a modern karaoke party to show that they share many similarities. Businesspeople today share the spirit of omotenashi with *Manyo* people, in that people prioritize the value of the whole “ba” over their own interests, and feel pleased to think they have contributed to enlivening the occasion.

The title, “The Origin of Omotenashi in *Manyo-shu*” is based on the paper, “The Origin of Japanese Omotenashi in *Manyo-shu*,” published in *Business and Accounting Review* 16 (2015), coauthored with Professor Yoshinobu Sato. “Characteristics of Omotenashi in a Karaoke Party” is based on a paper “The Characteristics of a Karaoke Party in comparison with the *Manyo* banquet and the *Renga* Gathering,” published after the proceedings of the national conference of the Japan Society of Marketing and Distribution (2016), coauthored with Professor Yoshinobu Sato.

Chapter IV deals with omotenashi in the Heian period. First, I analyze the omotenashi behavior of court ladies and the mechanism of elevating the values of their salon, from the B to C point of view. Court ladies waited on their mistress as well as entertaining visitors to the salon. They worked hard to improve their skills of communication and to enhance the values of the salon, or their mistress. Why and how were they able to work for the salon without stress from emotional labor, as Hochschild pointed out in *The Managed Heart*? Secondly, I deal with the impression management of the characters in *The Tale of Genji*, which is in considerable contrast to the theory proposed by Gardener III. It is important for this research because in omotenashi, participants are required to read the mood to make the “ba” pleasant, and the ability to read the mood is closely related to the success of impression management in

⁴ If a chapter is based on a previously published paper, it will include the figures and tables created in that paper unless otherwise noted.

the Heian period. This chapter concludes with a comparison of the values of the participants in the banquet in *The Tale of Genji* and in social events described in the works of Jane Austen.

“Impression Management Seen in *The Tale of Genji*” is based on a paper “Impression Mechanism for the Contemporary Japanese Based on the Analysis of *The Tale of Genji*” published in *Kwansei Gakuin University Social Sciences Review*,21(2017), co-authored with Professor Yoshinobu Sato. “Comparison of the Banquet of *Genji* with the Banquet of Jane Austen’s Works” is based on a paper presented at the Kansai Division of the Japan Society of Marketing and Distribution (2016).

In Chapter V, I discuss the process of the diffusion of the spirit of *omotenashi* with the spread of the *renga* gathering. *Renga* gatherings are important in three points: (1) The spirit and the essence of *omotenashi* rapidly prevailed due to the popularity of *renga* gatherings among commoners as well as the *daimyo* and noble classes; (2) In the *renga* gatherings, people should have a certain level of education in classical culture in order to be able to participate. The level of their education determines the values of participation, which is one of the characteristics of *omotenashi*; and (3) *Renga* is the predecessor of *chanoyu*, and masters of *chanoyu* in those days, including Sen-no-Rikyu, borrowed the philosophy from *renga*. I also deal with *mitate*, a rhetoric based on common education and sensibility between the speaker and the listener, because it shows the necessity of having a high level of education to enjoy *omotenashi*.

“*Omotenashi* in the *Renga* Gatherings in Comparison with the *Manyo* Banquets” is based on an article “Characteristics of *Omotenashi* in *Renga* Gatherings in Comparison with Banquets in the *Manyo-shu*,” published in *Kwansei Gakuin University Social Sciences Review*,21(2017), co-authored with Professor Yoshinobu Sato. “*Mitate* which Determines the Customer Value” is based on a paper published in the proceedings of the Marketing Conference of Japan Marketing Academy (2016).

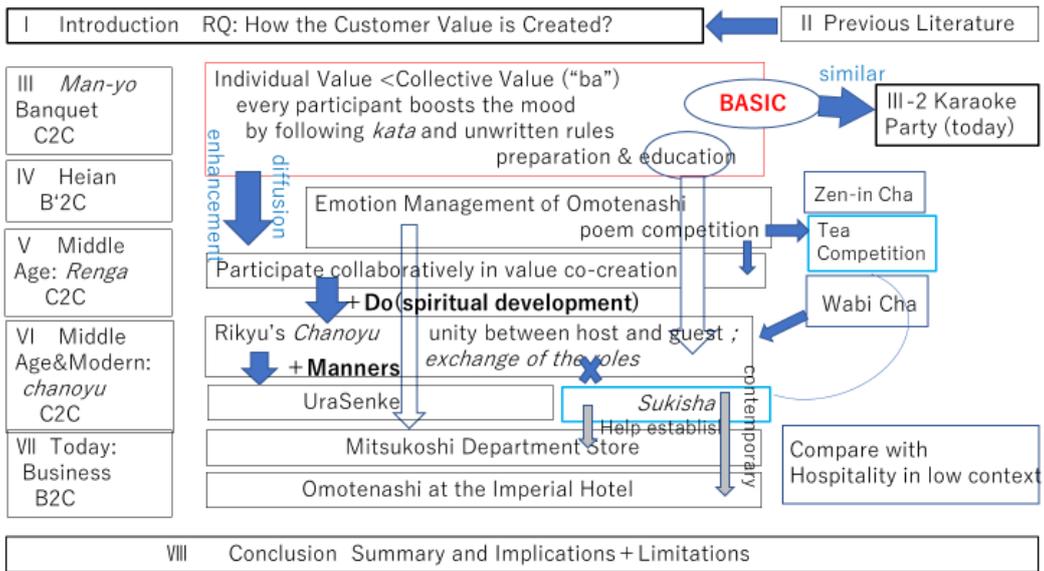
Chapter VI deals with *chanoyu* as a culmination of *omotenashi* in high context culture. First, I clarify how Sen-no-Rikyu, the innovator of *chanoyu*, transformed the style of *omotenashi*. Sen-no-Rikyu ruled out entertainment at the *renga* gathering and added spirituality to it. Sen-no-Rikyu also made *omotenashi* difficult to understand, at least for a novice. Second, I look at the values of participation of *chanoyu* gathering for *sukisha*, who enjoyed showing off their collection of arts or *chanoyu* utensils. Third, I analyze the marketing strategies of Urasenke (the biggest school of *chanoyu*). Owing to Urasenke, *chanoyu* added new meanings, such as education in manners for girls, mindfulness, peacefulness, and its role as a symbol of Japanese culture. The ideas of *chanoyu*, “establishing unity

between host and guest(s)” and “frequent exchange of the roles between host and guest(s),” have been passed down to contemporary business practice, which is discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter VII focuses on *omotenashi* provided at a department and a hotel. First, I explore the mechanism of creating values between customers and employees in their customer service at Mitsukoshi Department Store: what kind of values are provided, how they create the values, and why. At Mitsukoshi Department Store, employees always place the requests of the customers before their own interests, or sales. And the customers appreciate the consideration of the employees. Their customer service leads to long relationships with customers, if not short-term sales. Here I analyze *Gifts from Customers*, which is a collection of gratitude letters sent by the customers in order to clarify how and why they establish such relationships with their customers, using the Modified Grounded Theory Approach (M-GTA). I interviewed three Mitsukoshi persons: Mr Masahiro Tsuzuki, who is in charge of training course, Mr Akira Ozawa, who is a symbol of the kimono floor, and Ms Kiyoko Kondo, “*Okami*” of the department store. I also conducted participant observation at Mitsukoshi Department Store: attended a morning assembly, a new staff orientation program, and so on. Then I compare the customer service of Mitsukoshi Department Store with that of Nordstrom which is also known for putting the customer first. What are the similarities and differences between those two department stores? In the final section, I analyze the mechanism of creating value and the system of realizing the value among four organizations: Mitsukoshi Department Store, Nordstrom, Kagaya (*ryokan* famed for excellent customer service), and the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, with the iceberg model proposed by Sato et. al. (2014), based on the theory of organizational culture by Schein (2010). After that, I focus on the Imperial Hotel, Tokyo, which started as western style in the Meiji era, but now which offers completely Japanese style of *omotenashi* service. The comparative analysis, with Gouldner's cosmopolitan/local theory, clarifies why and how the employees at the Imperial Hotel continue to improve their abilities as hotel persons, to provide *omotenashi*.

The structure of the whole dissertation is shown below. (figure1-1)

Figure 1-1 the structure of the dissertation



II Review of Previous Literature

In this chapter I would review the field of hospitality research. First, I briefly mention the whole trend in research on hospitality marketing. There is a strong focus on a quantitative method research to various kinds of practical problems of hospitality industry. Qualitative method research is less visible in the field of hospitality research.

Second, I draw attention to the directions of the conceptual research in the field of hospitality. I share much in common with the scholars in dealing with the topic, and at the same time, I have found it necessary to work on Japanese concept of omotenashi.

The latter half of this chapter shows a couple of studies of customer value in the late 1990s to clarify the importance of discussing customer value within the cultural context—more specifically, in the context of the high context culture. I also refer to Service Dominant Logic and Service Logic, to which I owe my idea of “exchange,” and “co-creation of value.”

According to Morosan et.al. (2014), hospitality research became popular and increased in remarkably in number around 1990. Morosan et.al. (2014) summarized the major trends of the research in this field in 3 phases; 1989-1998, 1999-2008, and 2009-2013. In the first decade, hospitality scholars dealt with the various topics related to “the specific phenomena characterizing the industry, and “several directions for research began to emerge.” (Morosan et.al. 2014) In the years 1999 to 2008, the research of hospitality had greater degree of diversity. At the same time, more and more hospitality scholars tended to draw on quantitative methods. In the following decade, as the hospitality industry saw some great change in technology and styles, the scholars took interest in the practical problems, such as consumer behavior, using data analysis. (Morosan et.al. 2014) In general, in hospitality research, quantitative method has been popular by far among the scholars. Morosan et.al. (2014) mentioned that only about 10 per cent of the articles they reviewed used qualitative methods.

Yoo et.al. (2011) provided the analysis of hospitality research with classification of the topical areas according to the diversity of journals. Form the analysis, hospitality marketing research has been for most part empirical, and the majority of the researchers used a quantitative research design. Yoo et.al. (2011) pointed out that there were scarce attempts to “implement more conceptual rigor and central theories in general” and continued as follows: “the number of conceptual papers and researches that implemented

qualitative study designs decreased to a quite large extent...Overall, studies have progressed in practical research where researchers attempted to utilize various resources and challenged to test the existing subjects in diverse industries. Many researchers realized the importance and need of more theoretical applications and made efforts to replicate existing study topics in different service industries.” (Yoo et.al, 2011, p.529)

In sum, there has been a strong focus on a quantitative method research to various kinds of practical problems of hospitality industry. Qualitative method research is less popular, and conceptual research is even less popular. Then, has the necessity of conceptual research been left behind in obscurity?

Far from it, there are scholars shedding light on the concept and definition of hospitality in UK. Brotherton (1999) began his article named “Towards a Definitive View of the Nature of Hospitality and Hospitality Management” with the question; “what are hospitality and hospitality management?” and reviewed the hospitality literature, with a focus on definition of the word hospitality.

In the introduction to *In Search of Hospitality*, Lashley stated that “current interest in defining hospitality as an academic subject outlined in this book stems from a meeting held in Nottingham in April 1997. The meeting aimed to explore subjects of common interest amongst some of the leading researchers and writers in hospitality subjects within the UK.” (Lashley, 2000, xv-xvi) The book covered various topics, including domains of hospitality, structures and functions of hospitality from a social anthropological view, the hospitality trades, gender and hospitality, hospitality management, and education for hospitality. In his own article, Lashley also raised an interesting question about the definition of hospitality. He argued that the definitions of hospitality stated by the major organizations in UK are rather economic activity-based, and that we should consider hospitality in the wider contexts. Then, Lashley (2000) proposed three domains of hospitality; social, private, and commercial. They were independent of each other but somewhat overlapped. Especially, he put focus on the social domain and explained the necessity of study of hospitality in social domain in detail. According to Lashley, with some exceptions, “few hospitality academics...considered hospitality from historical, cultural or anthropological perspectives.” (Lashley, 2000, p.5) Here he specified the importance of study of hospitality from historical and cultural context.

Regarding “anthropological view of hospitality,” Selwyn (2000) defined the basic function of hospitality as “to establish a relationship or to promote an already established relationship,” and acts of

hospitality as “[to] achieve this in the course of exchange of goods and services, both material and symbolic, between those who give hospitality (hosts) and those who receive it (guests). (Selwyn, 2000, p.19) He pointed out that in hospitality hosts and guests already “share[d] the same moral universe”, but at the same time, he clearly stated that “hospitality proceed[ed] by giving and receiving.” (Selwyn, 2000, p.27) For Selwyn, host and guests shared the same moral, but their roles were fixed. They were not exchangeable.

Another article in the same book is also worth mentioning. Telfer (2000) dealt with “being a good host” and discussed the role and motives of the host in detail, though she mentioned neither “being a good guest” nor the role of the guest. It is needless to say, the role of the guest, as well as that of the host is important in omotenashi. It made me reaffirm that importance of discussing the idea of “being a good guest” in the field of hospitality.

In an article titled “Discovering hospitality: observations from recent research” including the response to his earlier book published in 2000¹, Lashley (2007b) put much emphasis on the concept of “the relationship between hosts and guests” in the study of hospitality. He wrote as follows: “at a social and cultural level, different societies require varying degree of obligation to be hospitable with duties and obligations on both guests and hosts. Importantly, these obligations do change over time as a result of a “modernity” or increased contact with tourists.” (Lashley, 2007b, p.215, emphasis in original.)

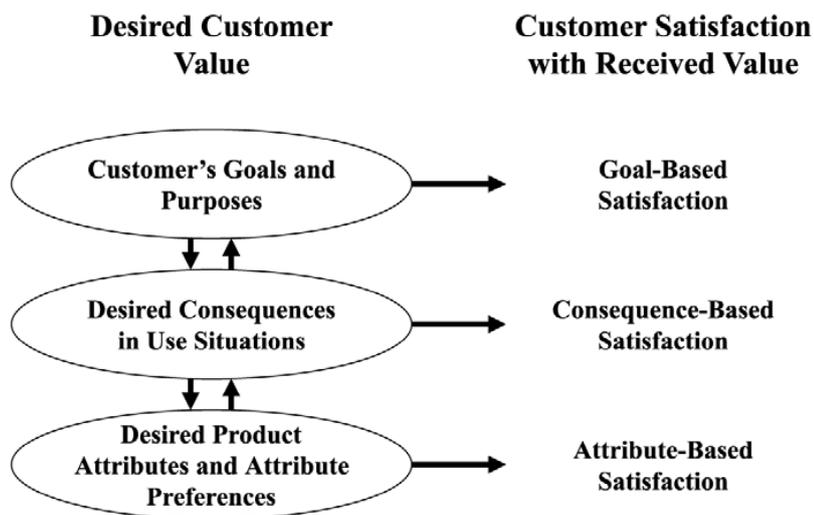
As seen above, I have found some perspectives in common with the scholars who work on the conceptual research of hospitality. First, I agree to their focus on the relationship between host and guest, as it is one of the most decisive elements of omotenashi. Second, I share the interest in the hospitality in the social, cultural context. I believe the research of the other concept of hospitality, or Japanese concept of omotenashi, will make a contribution to the field. Third, I agree with them in the attempt to utilize various kinds of literature, including literary works. Morrison and O’Goman (2008) implied that there could be various disciplinary approaches to the subject of hospitality. It is desirable that we should make the most of the results of other academic field to explore the subject in marketing. Fourth, I found the term of “being good host” much intriguing. In omotenashi, it is not only host but also guest that has responsibility. Thus, guests are also required to be good guests, to realize the value of “ba” of omotenashi. In addition, the roles or requisite qualifications of hosts and guests are not fixed. Host is required to be

¹ Lashley admitted the book was met with a mixed reception. Some academics showed somewhat “hostile” reaction to the discussion in *In Search of Hospitality*.

good host and good guest in a sense, while guests are required to be good guests and good hosts, as stated by tea masters. The unity of host and guests improves the values of omotenashi.

Then, it is time to look at the previous literature dealing with the concept of value especially of customers. Two scholars discussed customer value respectively. Woodruff (1997) shows customer value hierarchy model (Figure2- 1).

Figure 2-1 Customer Value Hierarchy Model



(adapted from Woodruff,1997, p.142)

According to the customer value hierarchy, the value of customer depends on whether and how his /her own purposes are fulfilled. In contrast, in the scenes of omotenashi, there are few people who have clear purposes to achieve, and even fewer who stick to realize them. Participants of omotenashi enjoy cooperating with each other to enliven the “ba”, as seen in the karaoke party described in Chapter1.

It is also important to remember here the typology of Holbrook (1999). In introduction to *Consumer Value*, Holbrook classified the consumer value into 8 types as below. (Table 2-2)

Table 2-1
Holbrook's Typology of Consumer Value

		Extrinsic	Intrinsic
Self-Oriented	Active	Efficiency (Output/Input, Convenience)	Play (Fun)
	Reactive	Excellence (Quality)	Aesthetics (Beauty)
Other-oriented	Active	Status (Success, Impression Management)	Ethics (Justice, Virtue, Morality)
	Reactive	Esteem (Reputation, Materialism, Possessions)	Spirituality (Faith, Ecstasy, Sacredness, Magic)

(Adapted from Holbrook, 1999, p.12)

In the typology of consumer value, there were listed efficiency, play, excellence, aesthetics, status, ethics, esteem, and spirituality for each category. Here again, I had an impression that some adjustment would be needed to apply the typology to Japanese customer. For example, for Japanese customer, the axis of “self-oriented vs other-oriented” seemed rather stiff. Remembering the scene of karaoke party, participants felt pleasure when they succeeded in enlivening the occasion tighter with other participants. They enjoyed themselves, and at the same time, they enjoyed contributing to the whole “ba”. The typology of Holbrook could not explain it. Thus, there is a necessity to explore another typology of consumer value suitable for high context culture.

After 5 years from those discussions of customer value, a radically new concept of customer value emerged, changing completely the environment among the concept of value.

Vargo and Lusch (2004) introduced the idea of value as something collaboratively created through the exchange among the multiple parties. In Service Dominant Logic, the focus was put on the process of co-creation of values with the customer as a beneficial actor. Then, it seemed to be unavoidable for us to clarify which kind of value was created and how. Thus, this dissertation discusses the mechanism of creating customer value, starting with clarifying the contents of customer value as well as the process of creating values on the part of customers.

Grönroos (2015) defined value as “being better off,” “that s customer, after having been supported by

a service provider, is or feels better off than before.”(p.12) In this sense, he focused on “value for customers and the service provider’s capability to support its customers’ process in a way that enables the customers to create value and achieve their goals.”(p.13) In other words, he cast a spotlight on the relationship between the customer and the service provider as the place of customer value creation. Grönroos also applied the term of “sphere,” that is, sphere of customer, provider, and both (joint sphere) to explain the value generation. The ideas of process, relationship, and place would be of a great use to examine the customer value in *omotenashi*. It is also worth mentioning that Grönroos (2015) referred to the “role of customers,” though in this context, the term of “the role of customers” rather meant “function of the customers.” Here he did not step into discussion of the “role” as responsibility for creating more values. In the Japanese idea of *omotenashi*, the roles of the host and the guest are exchangeable, and in this point the host (provider) and the guest (customer) are more closely related than in the explanation by Grönroos.

In this dissertation, being based on those frameworks, I would consider the relationship between the participants of *omotenashi*: what kind of relationship the customer is supposed to build with the host for success of the banquets, for example. Bearing in mind the host-guest relationship in *chanoyu*, it seems possible to think there is a unique relationship between the customer and the host in Japanese concept of *omotenashi*.

Other questions would appear: where is customer value generated? does the customer value depend on the joint sphere? how is the value created? what has influence on the customer value? and why? I would deal with those questions in the following chapters.

III Similarities of Omotenashi in the *Man-yo-shu* Banquet and a Modern Karaoke Party

1 Characteristics of Omotenashi in the *Man-yo-shu* Banquet

1-1 Introduction

Japanese concept of omotenashi is generally considered to have been based on *chanoyu*, Japanese tea ceremony, which was established by Sen-no-Rikyu in the 16th century. (Sato et al,2014; Sato and Parry,2015). In this dissertation, I build a hypothesis that Japanese omotenashi has roots in the banquet, *utage*, described in *Man-yo-shu*, the oldest anthology of verse. The word *utage* is traced back to *uchiage*, which means to finish a particular task successfully. The custom of *utage* or *uchiage* can be seen even today. Business persons usually have a drink together with their team after a task, and then as after party they enjoy karaoke, which requires the participants some tacit rules of omotenashi to enjoy.

In this way, *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* has continued on to today's after party. In fact, the root of *utage* is *uchiagu* which means to finish a particular task successfully. In those days, it took a lot of efforts by many people to hold a ceremony or ritual. A banquet, *utage*, was held to appreciate their cooperation and to put an end to the event (Ueno,2014, pp10-11).

In this chapter, I analyze the formal banquet, *utage*, the origin of Japanese concept of omotenashi.

Specifically, the roles of *utage* in community and the benefit given by *utage* to the participants are to be analyzed in the point of service dominant logic (Vargo and Lusch, 2004; Vargo and Lusch,2008), service logic (Grönroos,2008; Grönroos and Gummerus, 2014), customer dominant logic (Heinonen et.al.2010; Heinonen et.al.,2013;Rihova et al.,2013;),or experience marketing research (Conway and Leghton, 2012; Helkkula et.al.,2011; Holbrook, 2005; Holbrook,2006; Holbrook and Hirshman,1982; Holt, 1995; Tynan and McKechnie, 2010; Verleye, 2015).

For the concrete problems, I compare between the features of customer value of co-creation that is shown in the study of the Latin School of Societing (Cova,1077; Cova and Cova,2002) , application of Turner's theory of *communitas* (M Ellis,2011; Kim and Jamal,2007; Rihova,2013), and the study of brand community (McAlexander et.al.,2992; Muniz and O'Guinn,2001; Schau et al.,2009) and the features of *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* as community and those of value co-creation. This chapter is to analyze the customer value of co-creation in high context culture, which has not been discussed in

previous research.

1-2 The Characteristics of the *Utage* in *Man-yo-shu*

1-2-1 Overview of *Man-yo-shu*

In the beginning, I would like to show the features of *Man-yo-shu* in historical context. *Man-yo-shu*, Japan's oldest anthology of verse in existence, consists of twenty volumes. It contains forty-five hundred poems in total, most of which are fixed form of short poems as *waka*, made by a broad range of people from emperors to commons, from eastern areas to Kyushu area. There are many mysteries about establishment of *Man-yo-shu*: who edited the great collection, when, why or how has not been clearly unraveled. Roughly it is said to have been completed in the end of Nara period through several editing stages.

The anthology has three main categories: general poems love poems, and elegies. General poems indicate those made in public or formal settings such as banquets and ceremonies. Most of love poems were meant to entertain the others at some parties, rather than describe a person's sincere feelings to the one's beloved. Again, elegies were to express not one's private feelings but their common sorrow (Kajikawa,2000, pp. 176-86; Furuawa,2004, pp. 17-28, 31-33; Iwashita,2014, pp. 2-14).

Usually the poems of *Man-yo-shu* are divided into four periods. The first period, from 630 to 672, is the turbulent one before the establishment of the centralized administrative system. Internal disturbances were often brought out. Emperor Tenchi and Princess Nukata were particularly famous for their powerful poems. The second period, from 672 to 710, was stable one with the elaborate legal codes. Kakinomoto-no-Hitomaro is one of the well-known poets during this period. The third period, from 710 to 733, is the early Nara period, saw the perfection of legal code system. In the court, the aristocrats were rigorously ranked according to the descent or the family. Yamanoue-no- Okura is the one of the most talented poets. The fourth period, from 733 to 759, is the latter Nara period when the persons in power reached a political deadlock and transferred the capital repeatedly. Ootomo-no-Yakamochi represents this period.

1-2-2 *Utage* in *Man-yo-shu*

(1) The Significance of *Utage*

Previously the poems of *Man-yo-shu* were regarded as honest, innocent and plain expression of

personal feelings. However, since around 2000, many scholars of Japanese literature have attempted to focus on the situation of making those poems, especially *utage*, banquets. Surprisingly, there are about ninety associated words of *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, for instance, poems for praising sake, for enjoying party, for dancing and singing, for leaving party.

The number of the assumed *utage* poems, which mean those made at the banquet or for it, amounts to 270. In this point, Ueno wrote that main part of *Man-yo-shu* was poems made and presented at banquet (Ueno, 2014, pp. 16-17). In those days, the significant political matters were decided and administered at conference at the court, after which they always had a banquet. Thus, *utage* was naturally considered as political situation where the members could conform their solidarity (Asano, 2005).

At the banquet, as well as ceremony, the attire, the seat and the order of greeting, addressing and utterance were strictly prescribed. Poems were important as tools to display political hierarchy. The participants were required not to express their personal feelings in poems but to play their own parts as official, public existence. In other words, they should make poems most appropriate to the mood of the place, caring about the purpose of the banquet and relationships among the members. However, they had no documented rule for such complicating situations. It was crucial that the participants should know the implicit rules, that is, the cultural standard which each member was supposed to share. Assessment of the situation preceded the artistic talent, though the skillful poems spread among the court to become necessary knowledge for attending a banquet (Sasaki, 2007, pp. 62-67; Kajikawa, 2013, pp. 8-9).

(2) Historical Background

It is from the latter of 7th century that *utage*, the banquet, was held with such connotation as above. Historically, there are two factors. First, *utage* can be traced back to Emperor the banquet with firewood started by Emperor Temmu, who had won the severe battle against the other successor to the crown. It was crucially necessary for Emperor Temmu to appreciate his followers for their pains on every occasion, try their loyalty, and to prevent their betrayal. To be short, he was definitely urged to maintain the relationships. *Utage* was the most useful occasion for him to confirm their political solidarity.

In 675, Emperor Temmu held a banquet by fire, together with the high officials who had brought firewood into the court on January 3. After that the banquet was institutionalized, and in the Nara

period it became an annual event. At the banquet, sake and food was served to the participants (Murai,2005, pp. 70, 73-77). Since the government was established without disturbances, emperors held banquets to offer their hospitality to the bureaucrats and to make the government more stable (Ueno,2014, pp. 88-89).

Secondly, the development of bureaucracy should be pointed out with reference to the popularity of *utage*. In the latter half of the 7th century, the basic frame of legal code system was introduced to Japan. Under the new system of bureaucracy, the human relationships were stratified according to the order. The hierarchy was visually shown by the color of their clothes and coronets. Banquet and ceremony was held frequently as effective to fix and keep the vertical relationships. Private banquet as well as public were held in many places, including ministers' mansions. Almost all of officials were ready to attend the banquets to keep the connection for promotion. Then, why was the connection or human relationships important for promotion in those days?

In China, the emperor started *kakyo*, the system of standard examinations for higher officials, in which the emperor himself had the power to determine the passers, and to control directly all the bureaucrats, while in Japan, the system was not established. Certainly, there were examinations for employment and promotion, for which only limited boys could apply. In the meanwhile most of the positions of candidates for higher officials were occupied by a few big clans. Since then on, the government position became a family occupation, passed down to their heirs. For instance, there was a system that higher positions were given to the descents of the higher officials or powerful family without examinations nor accomplishments. As they could not expect to be promoted through their performances, those who wanted to get high position had no alternatives than keep their connection to some influential persons at banquets (Murai, 2005, pp. 13-16). For detailed explanation of bureaucracy, see Kanegae (2008, pp. 164-75).

(3) The Purpose of *Utage*

They had *utage* for the political purpose as well as for enhancing mutual friendship. For the political purpose, *utage* was helpful to discriminate between followers and enemies. At *utage*, people gather with common backgrounds to confirm their own faith: that is, they made certain that every participant belonged to the same faction without any secrets. In the Nara period, they had so bitter struggles for power at all times that formal banquets were regarded as occasions to detect their enemies. Consequently, the priority was put to the question if they share the same values.

They had *utage* for another purpose, that is, for pleasure. In some cases, they heartily enjoyed banquets, such as second parties to formal one, welcome parties or farewell parties. Even in these cases, they should not forget the vertical structure. They had to liven up the mood of the banquet according to their positions. If a person had an ambition to show his talent by making an excellent poem, he should stick to the order of precedence as other participants.

(4) Three Types of *Utage*

The banquets could be divided into three types by the host and guests: (1) the emperor and the high officials, (2) the high officials and their followers and colleagues, and (3) the provincial governors and local managers.

The main purpose of the *utage* held by the emperor as host was to strengthen the mutual confidence. The emperor asked for some poems; the high officials as guests answered by good poems to praise the emperor. When the high official held an *utage* as host to invite his followers and colleagues, they had other purposes as well as to strengthen the unity. The host was to demonstrate his power through some elaborate tastes and designs, while the guests were to show their intelligence. The provincial governor held banquets as host to entertain the local managers of the area, because in those days the income of the provincial governor largely depended on the cooperation of local managers.

At *utage*, basically the hosts had overwhelming power to the guest. There was a definite pattern for *utage*. It is certain that in some cases they were said to enjoy casual parties, but they were not free of rules. The food and drink at seasonal *utage* at court was provided by government, according to the legal code, *Yoro-Rituryo* (Ueno,2014, pp. 76-77).

1-3 *Kata* and the Way of Enjoying *Utage*

There was a pattern to the order of poems at *utage*, from the first greetings between the host and the main guest, to the farewell note. Everyone at the *utage*, including the host, should follow the rule in making poems, that is, what kind of poems were to be made by whom at which point in the process.

1-3-1 The Process of *Utage*

In the beginning, the host and the main guests exchange their greetings. The host should express in a poem his appreciation of the guests who were good to come all the way to such a poor place. The main guest should respond to it with saying in a poem that it was a great pleasure for them to visit such a beautiful mansion. Then, the main guest should praise the host in a poem.

In the third stage, every participant made a poem in concert with the intent and design shown by the host. In the fourth stage, someone made joking, playful poems as well as those for a change. They often quoted some old poems without any reference to the original poets. It shows that they lacked consciousness of originality or authorship.

In the fifth stage, they attempted to appear most reluctant to part with each other. The guest said, in a poem, that they must leave. The host asked urgently him to stay longer. After some more drink, the host put an end to the banquet with a poem, in which he expressed his unwillingness to say good-bye. The pattern of the *utage* as above has been accepted by general scholars in *Man-yo-shu* (Ueno, 2014, pp. 38-40).

1-3-2 Examples of the Process in *Utage*

In this section, the eleven poems made at the *utage* held by a promising bureaucrat, Naramaro, are to be introduced with the brief explanations. Naramaro was a son of the political magnate in those days.

In the first place, Naramaro, the host made two poems as follows.

1-I have brought a twig of yellow leaves, as it is a regret to let it wither.

2-Now I adorn my hair with a twig of yellow leaves that I have gotten in the rain to show you, since you are my dearest guest.

In both poems, he expressed his joy and gratitude to greet his guests, and at the same time, he showed them the keynote of the *utage*, namely, the twig of yellow leaves. Then, the main guest, Princess Kume made a poem, adorning her hair with the twig of yellow leaves, to greet the host.

3- I am happy to have the twig of yellow leaves that you have gotten in the rain.

It was followed by the fourth poem by Nagano-Imiki-no-Otome, a waiting maid for Princess Kume. She praised Naramaro, using the same phrases as him.

4- It is you, beautiful man just like the elegant twig of yellow leaves that are the dearest person for me.

The fifth poem made by Inukai-no- Sukune-Yoshio, a young official, changed the mood.

5- In Mt Nara, the yellow leaves start falling. The autumn season seem to be mature.

He described the beauty of the season, agreeing with Naramaro who proposed the seasonal motifs for the occasion. The sixth poem was made by Inukai-no- Sukune-Mochio, a younger brother of Yoshio. Mochio expressed his satisfaction and gratitude to the host.

6- Even if the leaves start falling, I have no regrets, as I could attend this *utage* and have such a beautiful twig.

Then, Ootomo-no-Fumimochi, a younger brother of the Yakamochi, made a poem.

7- In the darkness of the mountain, many leaves flow probably one after another in the creek in this evening.

The participants are reminded of the scenery of the yellow leaves flowing in the dark.

The eighth poem by Miteshiro-no-Hitona expressed the satisfaction more directly.

8- I have totally enjoyed the *utage*. Now I don't bother if the leaves are to fall.

The ninth poem by Hada-no-Kohemaro described his contentment with a joke.

9- I am so satisfied with the *utage*. I don't mind if the leaves are falling, as my love is adorning the twig.

In this poem, "my love" referred to Nagano-Imiki-no-Otome, an old woman. It is said

Kohemaro meant to amuse the company as improvisation.

The eleventh poem suggests that the *utage* approached the end, reflecting the mood.

10- Yellow leaves are falling as the cold wind blows, I suppose.

Ootomo-no-Ikenushi, the poet, was a little older than the others at the *utage*.

The last poem was made by Ootomo-no- Yakamochi, describing the mood cleverly.

11- How I wish the daybreaks wouldn't come tonight, as we are now heartily enjoying being our company, Comrades!

In this poem, Yakamochi emphasized the friendliness and reminded afresh the participants of the satisfaction of being a member of the circle. He made his ending poem on behalf of all the participants.

It was considered totally appropriate to his role at the *utage*.

1-3-3 The Characteristics of Enjoying *Utage*

In this section, the two sides of the characteristics of enjoying *utage* are to be explained.

First, there is the physical side of enjoying *utage*, in other words, *shiturao* of *omotenashi*. In general, *utage* was held in a great mansion with a large garden. In those days, the gorgeous garden was considered as a symbol for a great emperor in China. Thus, in Japan, people thought they should have great gardens with beautiful ponds and plants to join the civilized countries. It could be associated with the idea of *Rokumeikan* in the Meiji period, where Japanese government attempted hard to join the

powers by introducing hurriedly the western ways of living. In the Nara period, they held some banquets to host some honored guests from foreign countries. At the banquet, the garden was the place of ceremony. High official attempted to adopt the state-of-the-art culture from China. They competed in making elaborate gardens with beautiful ponds and seasonal flowers and trees, which were often transplanted in accordance with the purpose of the banquet (Saito, 1990, pp. 56-76; Ueno, 2003, pp. 77,81-89; Ueno,2010, pp.145-50).

One of the most important techniques used to enjoy those gardens is *mitate*. *Mitate* means finding some similarities between two things that seem totally different. For instance, they took a small island on the pond as a legendary mountain in China. Or, they were reminded of an inlet of an ocean when they saw the rock arrangement in front of them. It needed a high level of wit and culture. The cultural tradition was handed down from generation to generation, to reach a unique development (Kayano,1996, pp. 25-35).

When holding a banquet, they put an emphasis on *shuko*, the ingenious design or contrivance. For an instance, a minister had a temporary country house built in the fashionable garden to entertain the guest. In this contrivance, he showed that he had been eagerly prepared for the guest and made an auspicious work associated with a good harvest. The guest was successfully satisfied with the contrivance. Both of the host and the guest made poems with the motifs of country houses (Yamada, 2002, pp. 56-9; Ueno, 2003,pp 117-8).

Secondly, there is one more side for enjoying the *utage*. The techniques of *mitate* and *shuko* were made much of in making poems. To enjoy the technique of *mitate* in poems, they were required to share a high level of classic culture and wit. Moreover, at the *utage*, unexpected combination of two things was far from being enough. They had to think of proper *mitate* in accordance with their position and the purpose of the occasion. Someone in the lower position were blamed for presenting *mitate* in a grand scale. Those rules of *mitate* were helpful to maintain the order and strengthen the solidarity of the community. In some cases, they used *ume* blossom as properties for *shuko*. The hosts showed the guests explicitly the theme of the day in the greeting poems in the beginning, as in “let us enjoy today’s *utage* with *ume* blossom” (Ueno, 2014, pp. 50-70).

As explained above, to enjoy *utage*, it was requisite for both the hosts and the guests to have the high standard of culture including *shuko* and *mitate*. In addition, they set a high value on doing one’s own duty to liven up the *utage* together, rather than on standing out as an individual. When their efforts

were successful, the participants could get deep satisfactions and high possibilities for promotion.

1-3-4 The End of the *Utage* in *Man-yo-shu*

As seen above, in the era of *Man-yo-shu*, *utage* played an important role both in court politics and private lives. However, the *utage* declined for three reasons. First, there occurred great political and social changes. As the political system became stable and the struggles for power decreased, people gradually found it unnecessary to discriminate between friends and enemies. In the Heian period, the Fujiwara hokke family finally took the reins of government. And then the rival clans were drastically weakened. It was natural that the political roles of *utage* shrank in the situation.

Secondly, in the Heian period, the center of the culture moved to inner palace where women assumed the power. Many aristocrats, especially the Fujiwara family, were eager to have their daughters and granddaughters highly educated because they aimed at marrying the girls to the emperor so as to seize the political power. In due course, women took prominent parts in culture. The main topic of the poems became love, since the quality of love poems could influence their fate, that is, if a girl of a lower official had a talent to make clever love poems, she could find her way to inner palace. And also, the setting for love poems totally changed. In the Heian period, men and women rarely attended the same banquet. Instead, they chose to send love poems each other secretly. In this way, they lost interest in the community aspect of *utage*.

Thirdly, in the latter part of Heian period and the early Kamakura period, *renga* became popular among the emergent warrior class as a tool for discriminating between friends and foes as well as for confirming the solidarity. Both aristocrats and warriors found *renga* most effective for building human relationships in the unquiet times. (discussed in V).

1-4 Analysis of *Utage* in *Man-yo-shu*

In this section, the characteristics of *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* are analyzed with reference to today's *omotenashi*. The analysis consists of three dimensions: (1) to clarify the characteristics of *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* and today's banquet in high context culture; (2) to discuss the experience values and collective values for individual participants at *utage*, and particularly that the collective values are not simply total addition of individual values, but that they have emergent property: and (3) to analyze the experience values both for the parts of hosts and guests, in relation to collective values, according to

the process of *utage*.

First, the analysis of *utage* as experience values in high context culture are to be shown. Cova(1977) and Cova and Cova(2002) professed the Latin School of Societing. They argued that “ [t]here is a close connection between individualism, rationalism, utilitarianism and universalism, which reflect Northern thinking, and there is a close relation between community, affectivity, futility, and resistance, which are characteristics of Southern thinking”(Cova and Cova,2002, p.619). They called Southern marketing thinking which prevailed among scholars in France, Italy and Spain the Latin School of Societing.

In this chapter I am not going to examine the argument, though it clearly reflects marketing and consumer behaviors based on high context culture. In this sense, a possibility is shown to analyze some different objects other than Northern thinking of service consumption in a theoretical framework appropriate for them, by discussing *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, which flourished before the introduction of idea of individualism in the country which is considered as the most characteristic of high context cultures (Sato and Parry, 2013).

At the present there is no theoretical framework appropriate for analyzing service consumption in typically high context culture, *utage*. In the search for the direction, the second problem in this section is to analyze the relationships between individuals and whole community in service consumption at *utage*. For comparison with the relationships between individuals and whole community at *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, I chose the unusual experience as in group tour and camping (Ellis, 2011; Kim and Jamal, 2007; Rihova, 2013) and festival experience in brand community (Mc Alexander et.al., 2002; Muniz and O’Guinn,2001; Schau et al.,2009).From a viewpoint of customer dominant logic that deals with C2C value co-creation, Rihova et al.(2013) classified and analyzed the consumers community into four groups:(1) Detached Customer, who participate the festival alone or in a couple; (2) Social Bubble, who join the festival with his/her family or in a group; (3)Temporary communitas, which typically consists of adventure tour members; and (4)Ongoing neo-tribes, such as brand community. The *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, the community of value co-creation of C2C should be considered as the fifth or on a transcending level.

Turner (1977) provided a theoretical concept effective for analyzing unusual experiences at group tour and music camping. He named the situation commutas where people face each other as they are without concerning their roles or their positions in daily lives. Turner also examined the difference

between the absorbing experiences in rituals and those in dramas, applying two concepts of “liminality” and “liminoid.” According to Turner, liminality is an experience shared by a community as in ritual, while liminoid is an individual, subjective and self-absorbing experience as live entertainment, such as drama. Turner said that all audiences could not experience liminoid. Whether an audience have a peak experience or not depends on the interpretation on the part of audience.

Ellis (2011) proved that to enjoy liminoid in rarefied music it is necessary for participants to have sufficient knowledge of background as well as advanced skills of processing physical information sent by the music. Kim and Jamal (2007, p.197) quoted Turner, who wrote to the effect that as people get more equal of their own accords, they want more to stand out, and then, analyzed the unusual experience of liminality by tour members who joined masquerade in ancient times. In the masquerade, participants could have another individuality by putting on their favorite masks worn in ancient times. In this situation, they are apt to experience liminality.

What are the similarities and differences between Turner’s *communitas*, liminality and liminoid and *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*? First, while Turner’s *communitas* is an anonymous society, at *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* participants confirm that they are on the same side. Moreover, at *utage* there were rigid rules of behaviors based on class system. If they build friendship during those experiences at Turner’s *communitas*, basically the collective consumption of service does not premise a relationship for a long term.

Secondly, Turner’s liminality means the boundary state of collective self-absorption experienced in the ritual. Similarly, *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* has the strict process as ritual. However, for participants in the *Man-yo-shu* era, *utage* is the place to discriminate between friends and foes, and to strengthen the solidarity of the community. In other words, they are conscious of enjoying the banquet together with the other members, rather than they are intoxicated.

Thirdly, it takes sufficient knowledge of background as well as advanced skills of processing physical information to realize Turner’s liminoid experiences. As shown in the flow theory by Csikszentmihalyi (1991), as the level of the skill of audiences have goes higher, and as the program needs more sophistication, the level of audience’s peak experience grows higher. At *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, the participants were required to face three difficult tasks: to make good poems, to be sensitive to the situation, and to combine those two skills cleverly. The participants had to make great efforts in daily lives to manage those tasks, which were indispensable to get promotion.

Ootomo-no-Yakamochi, one of the most famous poets in *Man-yo-shu* wrote down a journal including good poems made by contemporaries and himself. By reading the journal, the sons and grandsons learned the custom at the banquet in the court. For instance, on the first snowy day there would be a banquet without advance announcement; so that they should get ready for it. Even if the formal ceremony was cancelled, they ought to come up for some reason. At *utage*, they should be prepared to make some poems, because they would be urged to by the emperor. They ought to consult with the records of excellent poems, for example, how to praise the virtue of the emperor metaphorically, and so on (Ueno, 2014, pp. 104-6).

For those serving in the court of *Man-yo-shu* era, ignorance of those custom would invite not only disgrace but severe charge for irreverence. It suggests that it was critical for them to learn the kata of *utage*, at which *utage* how they should make poems and when. At the same time, as the *utage* progressed, the participants could have hedonic experience through the acts of livening the scene together with the hosts, showing their cultures and wits in their company. The hedonic experience lead to the functional role of consolidating the community. In other words, the enjoyment itself contributed to strengthening the vertical relationships in the community.

Thus, at *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, the individuals had flow experience on a highly individual levels. When the individual participants could liven up the *utage* to the point that they felt satisfied, the quality of the *utage* itself on the collective level should soar, and it would, in turn, give favorably effect to the quality of individual poems. At *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, there were synergistic effects between the quality of individual level and that of collective level.

From the comparative analysis of Turner's *communitas*, liminality and liminoid, and the *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* (figure 3—1), it is clear that at *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* there were rigorous and implicit rules reflecting the social order, and the participants enjoyed logically peak experience synergistically both on the individual level and on the collective level. As a result, *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* played a role to strengthen the solidarity of the community.

Fig 3—1 Relationships among ritual,drama, and Man-yo banquet

	Collective-Orientation	Individual-Orientation
High-Skill Participation	Utage in Man-yo-shu	Utagein man-yo-shu Drama Liminoïd
Low-Skill Appreciation	ritual Liminality	
Rational Peak Experience	Utage in Man-yo-shu	Utage in Man-yoshu drama Liminoïd
Irrational Intoxication	ritual Liminality	

It is significant to compare the *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* with various kind of festival, brand festa, of brand community. Muniz and O’Guinn (2001) explained that there are three similarities as core of community, that is, consciousness of kind, shared ritual and tradition, and moral responsibility. They went on to argue that the same elements could be seen in brand community.

Schau et.al. (2009, p.38) pointed out stratification of the members in the brand community. According to them, stratification arises from the gap of knowledge of the brand, ownership, or skill among the members. If a person has higher level of knowledge of the brand, has more products of the brand, and has more skills to enjoy the brand, he or she could get a higher position in the brand community. In this sense, the members are placed in a state of competition among the brand community, or micropolitics of consumption (Holt, 1998, p.11).

It is not that the competition for the higher position continues on and on. Senior members who have won the stable position are willing to help novices and those in trouble from their moral sense (Muniz and O’Guinn, 2001, pp. 424-26; McAlexander, p.50). It would benefit the senior members themselves as the acts would contribute to the development of the community. In this sense, their voluntary support is the realization of enlightened self-interests.

When the characteristics of brand community have been made clear, it is appropriate to compare them with those of *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*. First, both share those three similarities as seen above. It might be said that in *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, the levels of three points are much higher than in brand community. While brand community is naturally based on marketing relationships, in *utage* in *Man-*

yo-shu, class systems based on the family or clan underlie the community. There exists competition against other community and oppositional brand loyalty (Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001, pp420-21) in *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*. It can be said that the competition is by far severer than the brand community.

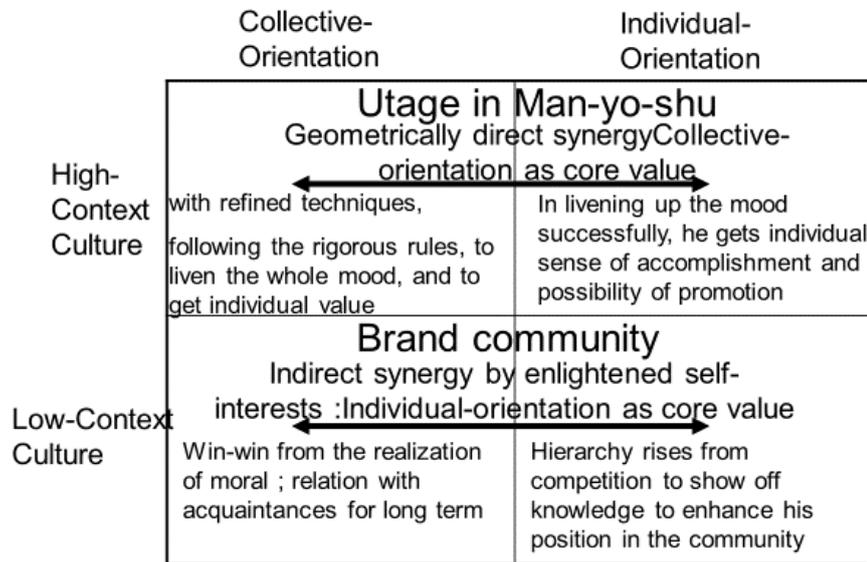
Secondly, the comparisons between two on the individual level and the collective level are to be shown. In brand community, the core value is on the enlightened self-interests based on individual profit which have indirectly realized synergistic effects on the collective level. In *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, in contrast, the core value is on the collective level, and it gives favorable influence on the individual level geometrically and directly synergistically.

Thirdly, on the system of ranking in the community, in *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, the gap of abilities to making good poems tend to be reflected in the social position and career ladder, while the rank in the community have no effects for outsiders. It is natural that people in *Man-yo-shu* era took pains to get promotion in the *utage*, because it would reflect on position value in careers and economic value.

In reference to the discussion above, another difference can be pointed out in the characteristics between the two. In brand community, there are some cases that all the family love the brand. In *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, all the families had to show their loyalty to the host. If the power of the host decreases, the positions of all the families of the participants would drop as well. In the worst case, the participants might be relegated to a remote area.

In this section, I compare festa in brand community with *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, with a focus on the second one, where the relationships between individual level and collective level are discussed (Figure 3-2).

Fig 3-2 Positioning of utage in community



Lastly, it is important to analyze comparatively values created in *utage* in *Man-yo-shu* from the viewpoint of service dominant logic, service logic, consumer dominant logic, and experience value marketing. In the analysis, the values have been classified into three groups: (1) values of *utage* on collective level, (2) values for the host, and (3) values for the guest(s). The result of the analysis is shown in the table at the end of this paper.

Throughout the banquet, the most crucial purpose for the host is the value of strengthening relationships with the guests: he holds a banquet to call his confidential followers together, or to entice somebody into his community by entertaining him. On the other hand, the guest puts focus on value of showing off his talent and value of increasing the chance for promotion as well as value of confirming his credibility.

With regards to values on the collective level, as the banquet progresses, the acts of livening the situation both by the host and the guest(s) through making most of their wits are hedonic peak experience of enjoying the occasion, and at the same time, lead to confirming the unity of the community (functional role). Joyous experience in itself subservient to the strengthening the relationships of the community on the whole.

As to the relationship between the peak experience on individual level and that on collective level, it has been clarified that there is geometrically direct synergy between the two. As pointed out, the

peak experience at *utage* is logical and purposive, far from collective intoxication or self-absorption as liminality or liminoid seen in *communitas*. However, when the peak experience is compared on individual level and that on collective level at *utage* in *Man-yo-shu*, the peak experience on individual level is almost perfectly logical and purposive, while on collective level, there may be found an aspect of enjoying to their hearts content without restraint.

1-5 Conclusion

In this chapter, by analyzing the banquet in *Man-yo-shu* era, the origin of *omoteashi*, the characteristics of *omotenashi* and the approach to it have been explicated. The last problem is why Japanese tend to feel compelled to liven the company on the collective level, and why they feel satisfaction on individual level when they have successfully contributed to it. Would the people in low context culture, or of Northern thinking, in Cova (1977) and Cova and Cova (2002), realize their enlightened self-interest on collective level on the basis of the satisfaction on individual level?

The question has been unsolved at present. The solution to the problem is one of the most important research task. Kitayama(1997), a pioneer in field of cultural psychology proved that cultural view of self of Japanese is interdependent-self, in contrast with the independent-self in the case of Anglo Saxons. His concept would give some hint for cultural psychological analysis of origin of Japanese *omotenashi* in banquet.

Table3- 1 Values changing according to the process of banquet

	Values on Collective level	Value for the Host	Values for the Guest
i)opening poems	To share an expectation in advance for an important banquet To share the subject value	Value of social capital : Value of strengthening relationships with familiar guests: Value of increasing power onto novice Value of parade: to have a gorgeous banquet	Value of making parade of his status : Satisfaction to present first Value of accomplishment : Satisfaction to present a good poem on basis of knowledge of Chinese

			<p>literature</p> <p>Value of social capital: pleasure to be invited and to meet somebody</p>
<p>ii) extoling poems (host and main guest exalt each other. Main guest praises the wonderful banquet.)</p>	<p>Value of collective omotenashi</p> <p>Value of strengthening relationships among the members</p>	<p>Value of omotenashi as host</p>	<p>Value of omotenashi as a guest (to flatter the host skillfully)</p> <p>Value of strengthening relationships with the host</p> <p>Value of confirming his credibility (to show his loyalty)</p>
<p>iii) theme poems (in some cases theme or motifs are assigned in advance, in other cases as ad lib. However, most participants are ready for the occasion.)</p>	<p>Value of extoling, Value of strengthening relationships.</p> <p>To confirm and maintain the cultural level of community.</p> <p>To strengthen mutual relationship by making poems connecting with one another</p>	<p>Pleasure to have others appreciate his (host's) design: Value of extoling (both for the host and for the guest)</p> <p>Satisfaction with the guests who have prepared good poems : Value of extoling (for the guest)</p> <p>Satisfaction to run a sophisticated community: Value of extoling (for the host himself) ⇒Value of pride</p> <p>To test the quality of culture of the guest (to convince himself) Value</p>	<p>To show his talent by making poems with good taste, proper to his position and the whole mood (effective for promotion) : Value of showing off his talent& Value of enhancing the situation value& Value of increasing the chance for promotion</p> <p>Pleasure to evaluate other members' poems : Value of learning</p> <p>Pleasure to simply learn other members' poems : Value of learning</p> <p>Pleasure to liven the company cooperatively : Value of</p>

		of extolling (for the guests) ⇒Value of selecting the guests	enhancing the situation value
iv)playful poems	Value of increasing intimacy Omotenashi led by guests (to amuse the members with joking poems ; Value of enjoying without restraint)	To liven the mood and gain intimacy Value of enhancing intimacy	To show his sense of humor and wit by making quick poems : Value of displaying his talent To amuse others by poem and liven the mood (get popularity) : Value of clown To be careful to behave in safety : Value of self-defense
v) ending poems (stick to kata)	Emphasis of the joyous mood till the end To strengthen the relationships among the community (Value of confirming the brand value of family and clan)	To finish the banquet in a joyous mood (crucial in those days) : Value of achieving the goal To maintain the connection with participants : Value of strengthening the relationships	One more effort to give the host good impression : Value of improving impression To confirm again that it is a good banquet, and that he belongs to a good community : Value of confirming the brand value

2 Characteristics of Omotenashi in a Karaoke Party

2-1 Introduction

In this chapter, I focus on a karaoke party, a typical example of a modern *utage*, to consider the values of experience, both collective and individual, created by this kind of party, and the relationship between those two values. A collective value comes first in a karaoke party, as seen in the sequence of the historical flow of the banquets in *Manyo-shu*, *renga* gathering and *chanoyu*. When the participants recognize that the creation of a collective value, they could also earn the higher individual value by contributing to the creation of *ba*.

This chapter is based on data collected by the questionnaire, conducted in late March in 2016. The graduates of Institute of Business and Accounting, Kwansei Gakuin University received the questionnaires about the rules of karaoke. Another data are the webpages checked by the keyword “unspoken rules of karaoke.” Grounded Theory Approach (Sato 2015) is applied to analyze the data.

2-2. Value of experiences and common yet unspoken rules of a karaoke party

In this section, I consider the characteristics of a value of experiences created by a karaoke party in the viewpoints of the relationship between two values, individual and collective, and unspoken rules of a karaoke party, which are the basis of co-creation of a value of experiences.

2-2.1 A process and unspoken rules of karaoke *utage* parties

Firstly I would examine the unspoken rules of karaoke parties as they are introduced in two websites about the subject. One of them states that people go to karaoke with friends and also for after party and even though in what is considered an informal situation, they still have to adhere to unspoken rules of karaoke parties. The rules are categorized into three groups as follows.¹

Absolutely prohibited

Make fun of the singer (It's bad manners.) Choose several songs in a row (Make sure to take turns.) Use the phone while others are singing (Go to karaoke alone. If someone did the same thing, it would annoy you.) Sing the same song that someone has already sung (The other members may feel that you are

¹ <https://chouseisan.com/l/post-48069/>, (March29, 2016)

showing off you sing better than them.) Choose songs randomly and force someone else to sing them (The other members may not want to sing that song. It's disgusting to sing unfavorable songs.)

Should not be done

Sing along without being invited (with a mic.) (If you really want to sing, get permission, sing in a low voice with a mic or without a mic.) Start using a karaoke singing scoring system without other's permission (Some people don't like it, It sometimes wastes time.) Force a person who doesn't feel like singing (Some don't like singing. Thank them only for coming.) Have a senior member order something to drink or eat (That's a junior's task. A junior member has to sit right next to the phone.) Choose a love ballad as the first song (It's one of tacit rules to choose upbeat songs.) Sing a love ballad when everyone's going hyper on a streak on upbeat rock songs (Read the atmosphere.) Get grouchy because of a low score the system showed. (It's just a machine.) Annoy the singer with big sounds of a tambourine or other things (Make appropriate sounds.)

Should be avoided

Beat the hands out of song's rhythm (It makes singing difficult.) Sing a song no one else knows (Such as one of the songs from an album) (If it is a funny song or your most favorite song, it's OK. Finishing singing a song helps liven up the party better.) (Or sing songs that almost everyone is familiar with.) Choose a medley song (Others hate a long song) Choose a song of which you don't know the whole (Sing that song when you go to karaoke alone.) Get lost after going to the bathroom and make others worry (Memorize your room No before going out.)

Above unspoken rules of karaoke are classified based on the degree of importance.² Next the authors consider how each person utilizes those rules practically as omotenashi rules so that they can liven up a karaoke party and create two values, collective and individual. Figure 1 is an example of how the rules were used according to the process of the party which includes "before the party," "opening," "tips of livening up the atmosphere" and "closing." It shows cases of four kinds of relationships of participants, which are categorized based on a closeness of horizontal connections and a positioning of vertical connections. The first two are examples of the vertical connections and the second are based on the closeness.³

² <http://matome.naver.jp/odai/2133716326285895701> (March 29, 2016)

³ The explanation of karaoke rules given as bellow is based on the result of the depth interview by e-mail to Mr A (eigyō person, in his 30s, working with a corporation listed in the first section of the Tokyo Stock Exchange) in March 29, 2016.

TABLE 3- 2 Unspoken rules to be followed in each process of the 4 different types of karaoke parties

	before the party	opening	liven up the atmosphere	closing
Settai, A party to Entertain Clients (in a bar)	Received directions; “Sing with lots of energy” “Don’t forget you are with a client” “Never sing songs the client loves singing by himself” The purpose is hosting, not having a blast	Received directions; “Break the ice” and sang first	Sing songs that everybody knows Saw my watch sometimes after 3 a.m. and was scolded severely and warned strictly later by the senior member; “Never give a sign that you want to leave at all. Don’t forget to thank the client for coming with us.”	Sang with the senior member, expressed the gratitude to the client and departed
Workpl-ace A party with co- workers of the depart- ment	Give direction in advance to the member who doesn’t know what songs the boss likes; “Never sing Nagabuchi’s songs because the boss likes singing them by himself” Give direction to a junior member; “Sing first and break the ice.” Once the party is arranged, say “May I belt out~?”	Order drinks and get tambourines ready Be sure to make a junior member sing first with lots of energy to break the ice It’s OK for you to sing first, if you are good at singing Choose songs the boss likes or seems to like(Practice them before the party, if you know them) Not sing the songs the boss likes singing by himself	When someone is trying to liven up the mood by singing an appropriate song or using effective tips, join him with full strength and help him→For example, group dancing such as EXILE’s “CHU CHU TRAIN” is effective Be just funny and cheerful because all the participants often get drunk and hyper already Listen to the boss’s song silently	The boss gives an order, “It’s about time and sing one more song before closing the party, ~” or a young member(a member in their 30s,too) sings the last song to show how really they enjoyed the party after saying, “So, may I sing the last song?” Or young members say, “let’s sing together,” and sing together and finish the party

	A junior must not look like reluctant to go	Grasp songs the boss likes but doesn't or can't sing Sing with gestures Over action is OK It is effective to pretend to be drunk	Read the atmosphere and think which is better, listening silently and clapping hands after the song finishes or making sounds such as handclap, voices and instruments with his song to liven it up Give a warning to a junior member who looks bored	In the case of karaoke at the bar, a boss sometimes finishes the party by singing a duet with "mama," a woman manager of the bar
A party with people you are not familiar with or you've just met for the first time	The organizer checks the profile of participants, makes plans about the atmosphere of the party and thinks about an appropriate selection of songs, instruments, food and drink in advance	The organizer takes an order of drink from participants and have instruments ready Don't use the instruments at the beginning because some people don't like them If someone seems to be willing to sing, have them sing If no one is ready, the organizer breaks the ice	Listen to the song carefully Chant during the song Use instruments, if participants don't mind them. Clap hands after the song is finished and make a complement but don't exaggerate Don't sing songs that turn off others When the party begins to warm up, sing a song all together to liven up the party	The organizer is supposed to find the singer most of participants like, by the party lives up and say, "Shall we sing ~'s song and finish the party?" Sing a school song, if the participants are students of the same school
A party with close friends	Nothing is needed because of the good chemistry	Nothing is needed because of the good chemistry	Ask someone to sing, saying "I like the song you sang before"	Sing a song that all members like and finish the party

			Practice an others' (the other's) favorite song in advance and sing it Say, "sing a lot of anime songs today" if the other(others) is an anime geek. It definitely lives up the party, because the other doesn't (others don't) or can't sing anime songs in a party whose participants are not geeks	
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This shows that livening up a karaoke party requires not only the singing ability but also the assessment of the situation in a karaoke party, appropriate song choices and good responds to other singers. Advance preparations are also sometimes needed.

2-2.2 Characteristics of the value of experiences co-created by karaoke

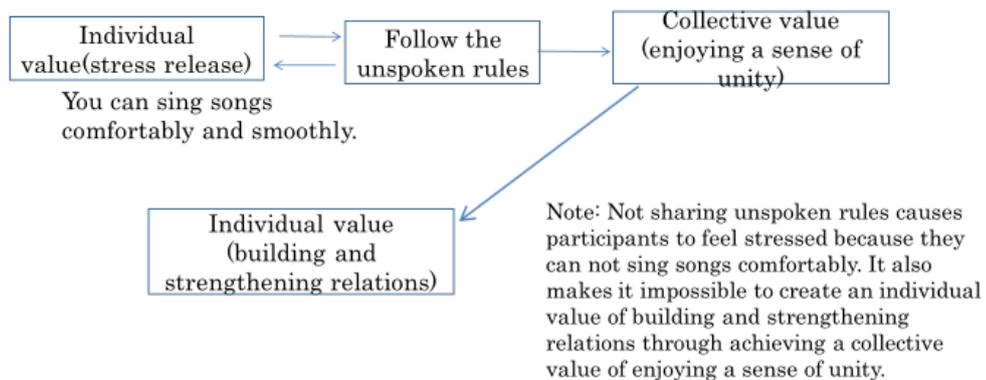
What value of experiences is created by karaoke party? I would focus on values, both individual and collective.

As to the individual values of experience by participating a karaoke party, it is often said that singing aloud favorite songs reduces the stress level and sharing fun time builds and strengthens human relationships with other members (individual value.) When individuals enjoy a sense of unity through sharing fun time in a livened party (collective value,) they can build and strengthen human relationship. However, as seen in unspoken rules, an attention seeker who tries to show off how well they sing songs ruins that. This is also true for rules of *utage* banquets in *Manyo-shu* and *renga*. Each participant is required to read the subtle change of atmosphere and contribute to livening up a party without showing off their ability. This is considered as a common trait of the Japanese.

Creating an individual value is consistent with achieving a collective value. Each participant feels happy, when they succeed in contributing to warming up a karaoke party, reading the change of atmosphere. This means achieving a collective value leads to creating an individual value. Additionally,

following unspoken rules enables each participant to create an individual value where they can let off steam because it makes them possible to sing songs comfortably. On the contrary, breaking rules ends up increasing stress. As figure 3-3 shows, there is a positive cycle between these two values.

Figure 3-3 A Positive cycle between a individual value and a collective value of a karaoke party



The mechanisms of success and failure in creating collective value at karaoke party are as follows:

Successful case

follow the rules → liven up the party → enjoy a sense of unity → (*settai* : reinforcement of relationship with the client, workplace : build better relationship among co-workers and between a boss and workers ⇒ a positive cycle of core theory of success, friends : reinforcement of relationship)

Failure case

not follow the rules → ruin the party → feel disappointed → (*settai*: worse relationship with a client, workplace: worse relationship among workers and between a boss and workers such as a boss's negative treatment for the coworker's mistake, friends: reduced intimacy)

The mechanisms of success and failure in creating individual value at karaoke party are as follows:

Successful case

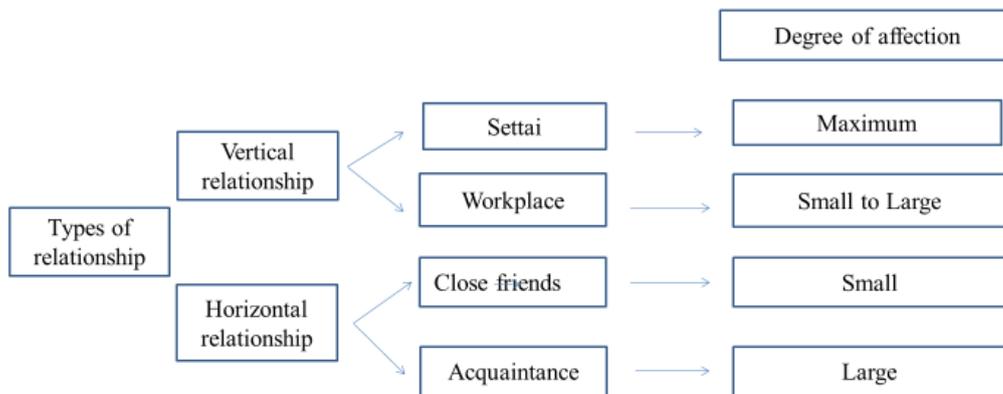
settai: individual's better performance and be praised by a boss, workplace: feel comfortable, friends: stress relief

Failure case

settai: individual's worse performance and get reprimanded by a boss, workplace: feel uncomfortable and get reprimanded by a boss for a mistake, friends: reduced intimacy, lose touch with people who are not familiar to you)

Figure3- 4 shows the degrees of seriousness of some negative impact failure in co-creation of a collective value will give.

Figure 3-4 The Degrees of seriousness induced by a failure in co-creation of a collective value



As shown in above, an extreme care should be taken in order to satisfy clients. A detailed explanation about unspoken rules is given to junior members in advance from a senior member who is familiar with rules. Even during a party, someone who doesn't follow the rules completely would be taken into the restroom, scolded and directed by a senior member and sometimes scolded and directed again after the party. If they are young and their ability is unknown, they can be regarded as inconsiderate and useless and lose an opportunity of promotion. This is just as in the case of *utage* in *Manyo-shu*.

Mr. A, one of respondents, described that failure in a karaoke party could give many participants an impression that all the events of the day such as *settai*, gathering or drinking met with failure, because a karaoke party is held after those meetings. He also responded that failure in karaoke of *settai* could end

up sending a message that they are going to be just a business associate with clients.

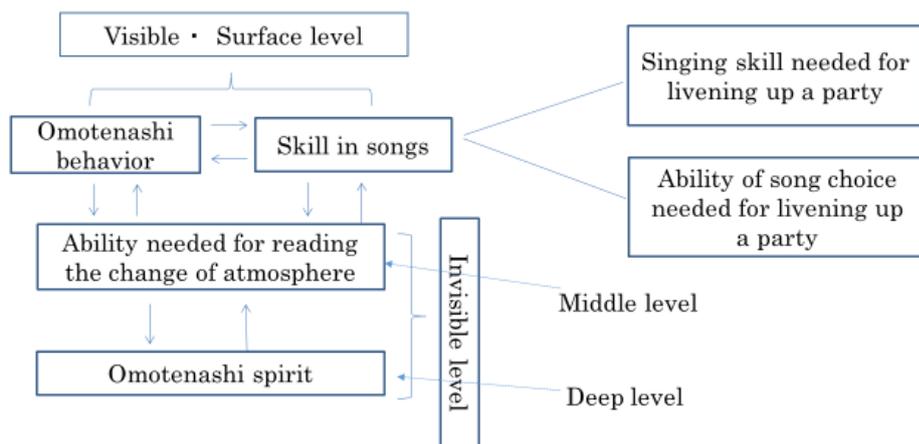
Ms. B, who is in her thirties and works for one of megabanks in Kansai area, answered that following rules is important because the success in a karaoke party makes it possible for them to work in an easy atmosphere through they are preferred by the boss who could reduce stress level. Additionally male superiors who spent time in a karaoke party with them are likely to get softer to them. Even if they make a mistake at work, they don't get reprimanded by superiors terribly. Ms. B also says even if a young worker makes a mistake in a karaoke party, other young workers make up for it to check evil influences.

In a party with close friends, rules are shared and followed implicitly by intimate members. A mistake rarely happens. Additionally, a mistake hardly has a negative effect. However, in a party with people who you are not familiar with or you met for the first time, a failure could cause you to lose touch with them.

2-2.3 Factors and characteristics of co-creation of value of experience in a karaoke party

How are specifically a collective value and an individual value created in a karaoke party? The mechanism is shown in Figure 3-5.

Figure3-5 The ability needed for achieving a collective value



The most direct ability to realize the collective value of karaoke is the individual's "singing skill", which consists of "singing skills that liven up the place" and "ability to select appropriate music for a place."

Another factor that will make the place is the various hospitality actions on the day, including pre-preparations. The two are the "surface level" of the visible level of the rule, in the three-tier structure of Edgar Schine's organizational culture (Sato et al 2014).

Singing skills and hospitality actions make it possible to liven up the place, which is the ability to read the flow of air in a place. In the creation of the collective value in the feast of the *Manyo-shu* and the seat of *renga*, this "power to read the flow of the air of the place" played an important role. In that sense, it is thought that it is in "power to read the flow of atmosphere of the place" in the root of the hospitality of Japan. The ability to read this air is equivalent to the level of invisibility in the middle of the medium, in response to the theory of organizational culture of Schine (Sato et al 2014).

It is the spirit of hospitality that can be positioned at the depths of invisibility to realize the collective value of karaoke banquets. The heart of hospitality is exactly the basis for realizing collective value. The spirit of hospitality is what I want everyone to share a good time with me, and to do so is a positive shin of what I can do to make a contribution.

There is another feature of "omotenashi behavior" and "singing skill", a direct element of the surface level that creates the collective value of karaoke party in figure 5. It is possible to hypothesize that these two elements correspond to the "hygiene factor" and "motivation factor" according to Herzberg. Although the behavior of omotenashi is a hygiene factor, it is not thought that the level of the collective value rises even if the advance preparation and the hospitality action are appropriately done in a timely manner. Conversely, if they are not done properly, the level of collective value will surely decrease.

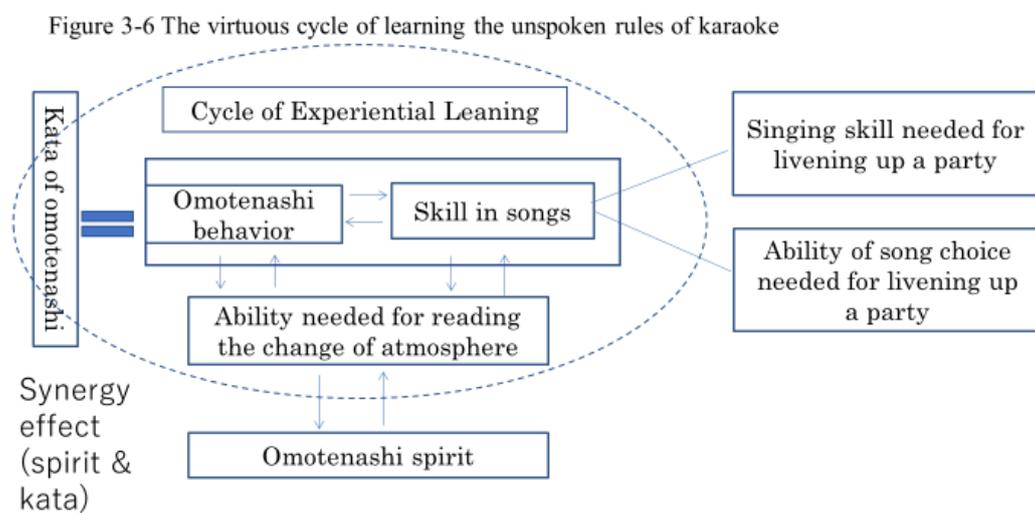
On the other hand, the skill of singing is thought to be a motivating factor, and the reason is that the level of the collective value is not low if this ability is low, but if this ability is high, the level of the collective value is thought to rise surely. Of course, if this ability is low and the level of collective value is not low, it is the case that an implicit rule is executed properly. The collective value of karaoke is greatly increased by selecting a good sense of music, it is a case to have succeeded in putting the singing power and other members worthy of it.

2- 3 Experience value co-creation at karaoke and experiential learning of implicit rules

Next, I would like to consider how and when I realized the existence of the unspoken rules of karaoke, and how I learned the rules. There were about 60% of the students who felt that there were rules for karaoke in the study of Oi (2006), but the percentage was higher with the frequency of using karaoke.

The survey respondents of the ten members of this study, one person "had been running in the unconscious until now, they are said to rule in the questionnaire, I realized that it was the first rule, but all the other nine were conscious of the rules. According to the questionnaire, it is thought that the learning of the rule was "observation of the action and the reaction of the senior and the person around" and "guidance from the senior", but the observation and learning were overwhelming.

Figure 3-6 shows a hypothetical cycle of learning the unspoken rules of karaoke.



Here, "omotenashi behavior" and "skill of the song" is called a set of "kata". Kata is the most fundamental to realize the collective value and the individual value of the *chanoyu* that Sen-no-Rikyu completed. The important point here is that the spirit of omotenashi and the kata is demonstrating a synergistic effect. In other words, if you improve the kata, your mind will be improved, and the improved mind will refine the kata more (Al-alsheikh and Sato 2015).

2-4 . Conclusion

This chapter found that the system of omotenashi (the kata and spirit) in the *Manyo* people's banquets, which were nearly 1300 years away, is almost the same as the omotenashi mechanism of contemporary karaoke banquets. In this sense, the study of the Japanese omotenashi in ancient times and the Middle Ages is thought to make a big contribution to the research of modern omoteashi both from theoretical and

practical viewpoints.

The *Manyo-shu* banquet and karaoke party have a common point that realizing collective value and individual value by making and/or singing songs. On the other hand, the experience value of *chanoyu* is found in enjoying not only tea but also a comprehensive Japan culture such as flowers, poetry, and calligraphy from the age of Sen-no-Rikyu. Then, a new question is: how the experience value is created in the case of *chanoyu*, and how the relationship between the collective value and the personal value is. The second question is: in the case of *chanoyu*, the ability to read the flow of air in a place is formed in relation to the type and spirit of hospitality. The third is to clarify the continuance of system of creating the experience value of *chanoyu* which is inherited from the past to the present.

IV Omotenashi in the Heian Period

1 Omotenashi at Court

1-1 Introduction

It is possible to consider the Heian period banquet at court as a quintessential form of Japanese hospitality. The so-called "Japanese-style culture" (Japan's traditional national culture) started and culminated in the Heian Period. Unlike the *Manyo-shu* period, which was heavily influenced by the Chinese culture, a unique and independent culture developed during the Heian period. The form of communication became unique and refined, partly due to the very enclosed communities. The aristocrats who became the leaders of the Heian period used to cite short sentences from classical and existing literary works to indirectly convey their emotions, which were then interpreted by the conversation partner to sympathize with them accurately. Indeed, such communication is not uncommon even today. For example, some *waka* poems composed by *Hyakunin Isshu* and others share the same mental scenery and had become a standard style to convey one's thoughts. "Spring has passed..." brought the image of a refreshing early-summer landscape in the eyes of its readers. From the word "Akanesasu", it is possible to imagine the figure of a woman who sees her lover waving hand at her and feels exalted. Some people may imagine a woman who receives attention from two men. Their communication style was subtle, complicated, and strongly based on the common education and sensibility.

The aesthetic feeling and sensibility depicted in *The Tale of Genji*, a symbol of the Heian culture, were handed down to the Muromachi and Edo periods as a common knowledge which was indispensable to the common people, even today. The story has also been discussed in the textbook for classical Japanese class in modern-time high school, where students are supposed to think the reason why some characters said such words, what do those words express, why do the characters convey such feelings. They are also expected to understand the deep meaning of the songs in the literary work. The story has been made into dramas, movies, and stage performances, and many books have been written about it. At community colleges, lectures on *The Tale of Genji* have always been popular, though most of the students do not even know the story in detail. It can be said that trickling down theory of sensitivity was realized from the Heian aristocracy to the modern middle class.

In this chapter, I will discuss the Heian period banquets, in particular the *kokyu* salon (salon at court), which has greatly influenced the nature of modern Japanese culture, society, and omoteanashi, based on two main points of view. The first one is the relationship between the mistresses of the *kokyu* salon (the empress of various ranks) and their subordinates (court ladies), in other words, based on the leadership perspective. The second one is based on emotion management, feeling rules, and emotional expression. In the *kokyu* salon, poetry contests (*uta-awase*)¹ and other performances were hosted mainly by the wives of the emperor, imperial princesses, the *Saigu*, the *Saiin* and the court ladies in waiting who also enjoyed intellectual communication with male aristocrats. It was a very sophisticated social occasion on the assumption that they all were thoroughly familiar to the works of Chinese classics and *waka* and shared the same sensibility. It is the relationship between the leadership of the hostesses and the court ladies, and emotional rule shared by all those gathered there, that supported those activities of the salon.

1-2. The Heian Period Banquets

1-2-1 The Heian Period

Unlike the Nara period that was dominated by power struggles, the regency government by Fujiwara Hokke family was established during the Heian period. Along with the abolition of the mission to China, there were no influences from overseas, making a seemingly peaceful era centered on a luxurious court flourished.

For high-ranking aristocrats with political ambitions, the only way to reach the top is to present their daughters to become the Emperor's wives, so their grandsons may become a new emperor. Everyone tried to compete in letting their daughters enter the emperor's inner circle. Aristocrats were usually delighted when a daughter was born in the family, and tried to trust the future of the clan on her hands. The birth, growth, and marriage of a daughter became an important tool of politics. The Fujiwara Hokke clan won that competition.

Therefore, women were assigned an important role in *kokyu* politics (politics at court). Being admitted as one of the emperor's wife, receiving his special favor, and giving birth to a boy are directly linked to the rise and fall of a clan. Only being the daughter of a powerful person is not enough. If a wife is inferior in cultural accomplishment or intelligence, others may obtain the emperor's favor. Here, their cultural

¹ “utaawase” was literally a contest of waka, though there were no strife or competition. Rather it was an event for exhibition and enjoyment of waka.

accomplishment is usually judged by poetic skill, that is, abilities of making good waka. In the aristocratic society of that era, communication between men and women was done by waka. Respectable woman had to understand the intention and taste of a waka given by nobleman and reply it without preparation with a good taste was and elegant skill based on classical literature, following the rules of the society. (This skill was also considered necessary for men.) Learning the skills suitable for noble men and women was a matter of high priority not only for oneself, but also for the clan. For that reason, in the house of a high-ranking aristocrat, an able court lady (lady's maid) is usually assigned to the daughter. The court lady often recites improvised reply waka in place of the hostess, which required a very high level of education.

There was such a weight on the cultures and education in the society that the empress (including *chugu*, *nyougo*, *koi*, *miyasundokoro*) respectively presided over a cultural salon. The salon where high-quality cultural people gather could be regarded highly by the emperor which led to obtaining his favor.

I would like to confirm the following two points as a premise to consider the Heian period banquets. First was that the community was stable, narrow, and closed. The people in had even more detailed identification. In this era, aristocrats that move the political society were all related, and among such close relationships, high-ranking and low-ranking ones only had minor differences. Second, emphasis was placed on repeating conventional practices, and it was highly stylized. The officials considered the reproduction of the "classical" style as the most important matter. Also, there were many taboos settled by some superstitious customs, and it was an environment where it was difficult for innovation to be born.

1-2-2 Political Banquets

A variety of public and private banquets were held in the court society of the Heian period. In a New Year's Day, after the vassals made a New Year's visit to the Imperial Prince's Palace, a banquet was held. According to Abe (1993), after visiting the Palace of the Empress, a banquet was usually held at the west corner of the Genkimon. The toast was based on Sankon or a three-layer toast, and after the second toast, a steamed dough made of kneaded udon flour was served. After the third toast, rice and soup were served, and the *gagaku ryo* (musical band) played the music. *So* (a dairy product), sweet chestnut (sweetened boiled dried chestnuts), and others were served. Afterwards, tributes to the emperor were presented. The tributes were decorated with white clothes, etc. according to the status of the presenter.

Afterwards, shrine maidens visited the Imperial Prince's Palace, and took a seat at the large banquet. When officials arrived at the seat, musicians of the *gagaku ryo* played some music during the first toast. After five toasts, the bureaucrats stack up the robes in the garden. The music stopped at the ninth toast, and then the musicians left the area. *Toguu ryo* called the names of the fourth and fifth places in the garden and presented a tribute. (ibid. pp. 168-9)

What kind of banquet was held at the regent's or minister's private residences by inviting the imperial prince and court nobles? According to Abe (1993), this kind of banquet was also held on the fourth day of the new year and the fifth day of the new year. In the morning of the banquet day, the fifth person visited the imperial residence and invited him verbally to the banquet.

Small banquets were held for the high nobles and others until the host arrived. This is a pre-meeting (*kami-mukae*, meaning welcoming gods) preceding the festival, which is originally a drinking event to wait for the coming of the god. When the arrival of the guest of honor was announced, those with lower positions stood outside the middle gate. The guest of honor entered the gate and exchanged greetings by following a strict order and took a seat in the party. From the first to the fifth toast, the banquet procedure was quite complicated, and *gagaku* and dances were also held. After the banquet was finished, each guest offered a tribute. (ibid. pp. 169-70)

Such banquets, of course, strongly implied that the participants pledged their allegiance to the host or the guest of honor in order to build better relationships and consolidation. It can be said that it was a political banquet, so to speak, that it is still continuous with the *Manyo* people's banquet, if without such tension. Hideo Suzuki (1986) mentioned that the reason was that the feast was originally held as an amusement of the Imperial court ritual. (Suzuki, p.45)

In *The Tale of Genji*, there is a scene of an extraordinary banquet where the noblemen gathered under the leadership of Genji, coming back from the remoted Suma House with more power than ever before. Here, all the participants wanted to start a master-subordinate relationship with Genji. The reason is because it was the way to reach social prosperity. (Matsui, pp. 248-9) In *The Tale of Genji*, there are several types of banquets, such as public banquets, private banquets, and those in between. Most of the time, sake was also served in addition to meals, and participants enjoyed music and dance, made poems and sang songs in Chinese.

1-3 Omotenashi at Salon at Court

1-3-1 Kokyu Salon (salon at court)

As mentioned above, in the Heian period, at the court, the emperor's wives presided over the salons, hosting literary activities such as making poems and socializing based on high cultural trainings. Mekata (2003), mentioned that, from early ninth century to the 12th century, thirty-six salons blossomed, and each was competing to be the best based on detailed materials.²

The salon of Takaiko is the first to be mentioned in the chronological list of well-known salons at court. Takaiko was an excellent talent at making poems and often held poem party, inviting poem masters, including Ariwara no Narihira, Bunya no Yasuhide (one of the top six master poets), Sosei, and Kintou, to make poems. Every season she invited first-class poets to make poems. The emperor and the imperial prince also participated in the salon, and it was a gorgeous socializing place.

Other than the salon of Teishi, which will be described later, the salon of Daisaiin Senshi was also known especially for its skill level and influence. The *uta-awase* contests of *waka* poems that were held regularly here were popular among masters and high nobles, as she arranged slightly different from usual with interesting wrinkle. Not only the court ladies (around 20 people) but first-class high-cultured people and intellectuals, also attended, including Fujiwara no Sanekata, Minamoto no Shigemitsu, Fujiwara no Tomomitsu, Fujiwara no Michitsuna, Tametada, Tadasato, and others. In the later half, prominent public officials, such as the son of the lord paramount and 78 highly educated people also attended. It was the finest salon in terms of not only cultural level but also in political and influential aspects.

On the other hand, at the same salon, court ladies and their mistresses worked hard on their singing skills together. At that time, the song acted as a format, "kata" to express the proper emotion. Based on the traditions of the *Kokin-shu* and other literary arts, while making use of the world of the opponent's song (what kind of song is it based on, etc.), the other party must compose a song that matches the current position with one or two twists. Instead of making a poem that conveys the person's current "emotion", they were expected to compose those that are suitable with the situation at that time and place.

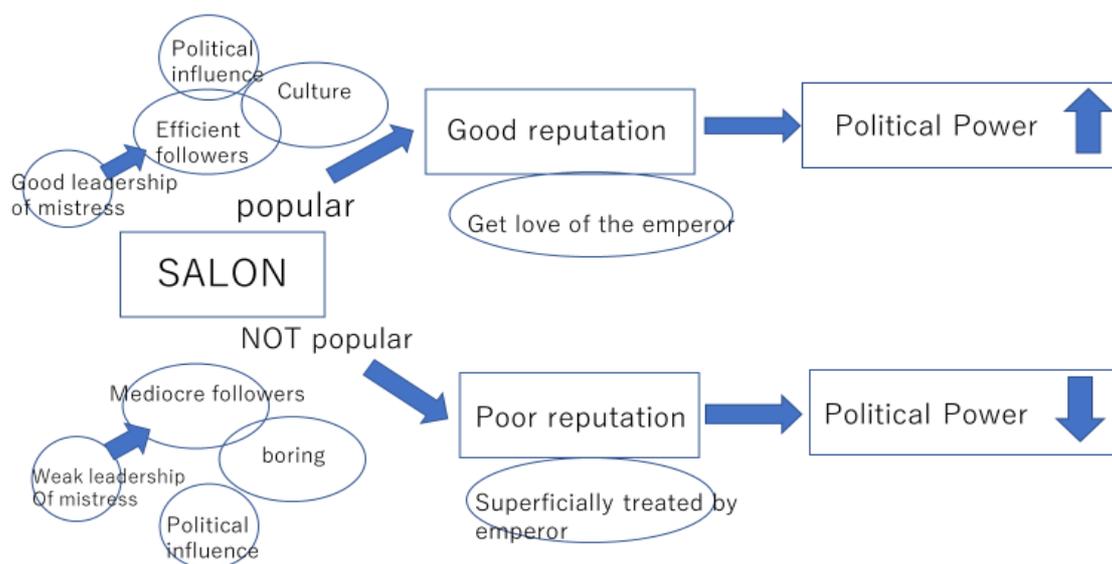
Early in the early stage, Senshi the hostess, received training on poetic skill from her court lady, who served as governess, but in the latter half, after she mastered her skills, she herself began to teach young court ladies from scratch. Eager enthusiasm for practicing poems was also a feature of this salon, sometimes instead of the hostess, senior court ladies voluntarily provided lessons in making poems to

² I relied the description of those salons at court on Mekata(2003).

junior young court ladies. The reason was because the main duty of court ladies is to directly interact with the high-class members of the salon and entertain them. The court ladies were responsible for socializing and communicating in each salon, and provide omotenashi to the participating members on behalf of the mistress.

Then, what kind of value did the court ladies offer at the salon? And what kind of satisfaction were obtained by the participants? Were there any differences in different salons? If so, what made the difference. Before moving on to the discussion section, I would like to confirm the importance of the salon. Figure 4-1 shows the importance of the salon at court on their family.

Figure 4-1 Consequences of Success and Failure of Salon at Court



It is the charm of the mistress and the atmosphere in it that determined the popularity of the salon, and the ladies in waiting played a very important role. Under a mistress who exerted good leadership, the salon with well-educated, competent and communication-savvy court ladies earned popularity, which in turn will improve the status of the mistress. The salon with many influential and intellectual people were highly regarded among the society, as the evaluation from the emperor also increased. The emperor would spend more time at the salon, and if the affection is deepened, the father's clan will be stable, because the political power totally depended on the favor of the emperor. On the other hand, if the relationship between the mistress and the ladies in waiting is dilute or immature, the self-growth and improvement in practical ability of the ladies tend to be delayed, and the salon became less attractive even

though the court ladies and others were actually highly educated. In that case, the reputation of the public would be lower, and it became highly likely that the emperor would respond formally when comparing it with other famous salons with competent ladies. If this happened, the father would be in trouble. Whether salon at court succeeds or not was significant politically.

1-3-2 Case studies of the salons at court

Here, two contrasting salons are given as examples. The first one is the salon of Teishi, and the second is the salon of Shoshi, both of which were held by the wives of Emperor Ichijo. First, I will describe the outline of each salon and compare the values provided and created at those two. Then, I will clarify what led to the difference with the theoretical frame of leadership.

1) the salon of Teishi³

Teishi is the daughter of Kampaku Michitaka, who was one of the most powerful at that time. With her excellent skills in waka, Teishi presided over the popular salon, backed by the Emperor Ichijo's love, who also had high cultural and literary tastes. Other than the emperor himself, the salon had members who were proficient in Chinese classical literature, including Teishi's brother, Korechika, Tadanobu, Takaie, Kintou, and others. The hostess and court ladies were highly educated, and possessed a character that was witty and talented, so the salon was always full of humor and laughter.

After hearing about the salon's fame and wanting to try it out by themselves, some young noblemen visited with well elaborated poems of their own making from time to time. In this case, the person (on the side of the salon of Teishi) was required to instantly compose a witty and meaningful waka to respond. The court ladies of the salon of Teishi were able to freely use their education in *Kokin-shu* and Chinese classical literature to reply to the person who offered the first poem (*waka*). All the ladies waiting on Teishi had been constantly refining their skills and making efforts to be able to communicate witty that Teishi liked. Then, it is worth considering how Teishi encouraged her subordinates (ladies in waiting) like that and was able to preside over a salon that could even amaze the first-class intellectuals in those days.

Teishi had an ideal vision on what her salon should be. And she did not only inform that to her court ladies, but she educated them by herself in order to prepare them for the salon. Sei Shonagon, who wrote

³ I relied the description of Teishi Salon on *The Pillow Book* by Sei Shonagon, Yamamoto(2007), Tanigawa(1992), and Gomi(2014) as well as Mekata(2003).

The Pillow Book, was the one of the most famous members of the salon of Teishi. In that book, Sei Shonagon mentioned that Teishi developed her court ladies very vividly by testing them to recite *the Kokin-shu*, an essential material for noblemen education in that era, and made them practice making the appropriate poems perfectly. In Chapter 22 of *The Pillow Book*, Teishi ordered the ladies in waiting to write down the poem that came into their heads.

For some reason, I was overcome with timidity; I flushed and had no idea what to do. Some of the other women managed to put down poems about the spring, the blossoms, and such suitable subjects, then they handed me the paper and said, "Now it's your turn." Picking up the brush, I wrote the poem that goes; "The years have passed / And age has come my way. / Yet I need only look at this fair flower / For all my cares to melt away." I altered the third line, however, to read "Yet I need only look upon my lord."

The Empress[Teishi] said that it was what she would like to see. (pp. 5-6)

In the scene, Teishi found the wit satisfactory with which Sei Shonagon altered the poem a little in order to make it more suitable for the situation. Teishi went on to talk about some episode to show the importance of learning. Then, another test started. "She [Teishi] placed a notebook of *Kokin-shu* poems before her and started reading out the first three lines of each one, asking us to supply the remainder." (p.36) Everyone should have memorized those poems, yet Sei Shonagon wondered why they could not answer the question when asked in that way. After that, Teishi told the story of a hostess in the previous generation who was known for her cultural accomplishments.

In one of the most famous scenes in *The Pillow Book* (chapter 282), there was an episode in which Teishi asked about snow on top of Mt Koroho, to examine her ability to respond with wit. When Sei Shonagon had the screen rolled up before them, as an answer, Teishi smiled. It was that Sei Shonagon showed not only her knowledge but her ability to present it smartly. It was a test whether she knew about the ancient Chinese poem "I see the snow on top of Mt Koroho as rolling up the screen". However, only by memorizing this poem and replying by the phrase was considered too direct. It is also too common to return it as a form of *waka*. Sei Shonagon chose to respond to Teishi by reproducing the actual scene of the original poem. According to their standard, she should not answer directly what she knew (showing that her taste is not that good), but she should instead twist it a little so the other side will think, "Wow, that's right!" and smile. And that, she was required to respond instantly. Teishi liked such witty communication style, and she taught her court ladies practically in order for them to acquire such

skills. As a result, they were able to polish sophisticated communication techniques to give an even better impression by using short words, and such skills became the well-known characteristic of the salon of Teishi.

Teishi did not only train her court ladies well, she also took a good care of them. There was a period when Teishi was left hopeless due to a dishonorable incident involving her brother, Korechika. At that time, the court ladies spread a rumor saying that Sei Shonagon worked for Michinaga, who was a political opponent of Michitaka (Teishi's father), which caused her to be alienated and forced her to live in her parents' house for a long time. Teishi secretly sent a message caring for Sei Shonagon. Eventually, Sei Shonagon came back, but when she stayed behind in a low profile because of feeling "unusually nervous", Teishi asked those among her jokingly if she was a newcomer, and made the atmosphere in the whole salon bright again (chapter 138). Teishi had the power to put together the entire salon in order, as well as to pay personal attention to her subordinates.

It is a result of the education by her father Michitaka, who taught Teishi the principles of being the "top person". For example, he once said to Teishi in front of his court ladies, "These court ladies are all daughters from good families. We have to admire them. You should take care of them well, so that they can serve you with their best." Such a treatment from her father to those who served him must have had a positive influence on Teishi's awareness as a hostess.

It is evident from *The Pillow Book* that the court ladies also deeply respected the mistress, Teishi, and tried to respond to her guidance deeply. They took pride in being followers of Teishi. In other words, they are deeply engaged in the salon. It is no surprise that they were heartily happy to learn the noblemen who visited their salon praised the salon of Teishi. Good reputation again motivated the court ladies to behave properly as a member of the salon of Teishi.

In addition, Teishi also had the ability to draw out women's talents and provided them with the chance to flourish. She drew out Sei Shonagon's talents and encouraged her to write something as giving her the papers. The accomplishment of the *Pillow Book* is largely due to Teishi's ability to find out and develop her talents.

2) the salon of Shoshi⁴

⁴ I relied the description of Shoshi Salon on *The Diary of Murasaki Shikibu* and Yamamoto(2007).

Shoshi is the daughter of Michinaga, who came to reign supreme over the politics and the court. Though Teishi had already obtained the favor of Emperor Ichijo as the empress, Michinaga (Michitaka's brother), with the ambition to oust Michitaka from the government, half-forcibly presented his young daughter Shoshi into the court of Emperor Ichijo. Far from exerting leadership, Shoshi avoided teaching or changing her court ladies. Shoshi herself had placid character and not a type of person that acted on her own initiative. Yamamoto (2007) suspected that her personality was influenced by her noble lineage due to her mother, who was an imperial princess. Naturally, Shoshi was very proud of herself and had no custom initiating anything in her life. She also did not prefer to explain her own thoughts and opinions through words.

It is somewhat ironical that her court ladies were similar to her in the point. In general, ladies in waiting were supposed to do their tasks including receiving guests, relaying someone's message to the mistress, responding to the poem sent by someone in her place. Thus, parents of promising daughter tended to choose those who had professional skill with a deep knowledge on the business; for example, women whose mothers also worked as ladies in waiting for some princess or empress. If they expected their daughter to be smoothly waited on and to get good reputation, they should have chosen such proficient ladies. However, Michinaga did not. As his daughter entered the court as one of the wives of the emperor, he gathered ladies from upper-class aristocrat families and famous poets as court ladies in order to build an attractive salon. It can be said that such efforts backfired. Because the ladies of the upper-class aristocrat families were treated as mistress in their parents' houses, they did not have the communication and practical skills necessary for their job as court ladies. Even if someone is a famous poet, it does not mean that s/he has good practical skills. Actually, even when customers came to the salon and wrote *waka*, nobody dared to respond. The court ladies were unable to respond properly themselves. For them, to behave openly in front of other people could not be possible; they naturally avoided such occasion and hid themselves. Although surrounded by women with higher cultural skills than those who worked in the salon of Teishi, Shoshi was unable to build a valuable salon. Murasaki Shikibu, who was a member of the salon of Shoshi, wrote in her diary that Shoshi Salon did not have a meaningful reputation and she felt sad for it.

Although Murasaki Shikibu could have tried to improve the salon's quality, she did not do it. When Murasaki Shikibu joined Shoshi's, the other court ladies were alarmed that "she must be a talented but highbrow woman and will only think lowly of others", and closed their hearts to her, because her

reputation as intellectual was widely spread among the court. Shikibu herself was also poor in social skills and it was hard for her to communicate with the other court ladies. Ultimately, she was able to be accepted by the court ladies by "pretending to be stupid and unable to answer any questions". The court ladies of the the salon of Shoshi even avoided any initiatives. They thought that it was better to try not to overdo things if they were going to fail anyway. The salon of Shoshi suffered from such a passive mood. It is partly because Shoshi was young and did not know how to educate her court ladies to work the way she wanted them to. Or, she might just have given up on them. As someone with an imperial blood, Shoshi was afraid to fail and tended to act hastily. It was not easy for her to build a strong relationship of trust with the court ladies, unlike what happened in the Teishi Salon, and it was difficult for the court ladies to understand what the hostess wanted.

1-3-3 Leadership seen in those salons

In this section, I shall compare the salons of Teishi and Shoshi again.

First of all, Teishi knew what kind of salon she wanted to build, and she told her vision to her court ladies. She was actively involved in educating her court ladies to realize her goals. In addition, she assessed their talents properly. Based on those, she was able to build a relationship of trust. The court ladies admired Teishi and they worked hard to make the salon successful. This led to an improved evaluation on the salon. Her abilities in sharing her vision, drawing out the skills of her employees, and improving the training results are exactly the examples for a transformational leadership that can produce a good cycle. Thanks to her leadership skills, Teishi was able to maintain the quality of her salon even when she was in trouble.

On the other hand, Shoshi did not have a clear vision for her salon, nor was she able to share it. She was reluctant in encouraging and educating her court ladies. Shoshi did not use Teishi's style, which was to set an example and to educate the court ladies diligently. Instead, she stepped back and left things to her court ladies. She was probably a type of leader who moves people without directly talking to them, as seen in *The Tale of Genji* (will be mentioned in IV-2). However, her leadership did not work even before she tried to understand the feelings of her court ladies or build a relationship with them. In order for a Shoshi-type leadership, that is, moving people with minimum amount of words to work, a mutual understanding on the characters and positions of the other party and a trust-based relationship are essential. In the later period, after she became older and established a position in the court, it seemed that she was able to establish a trust-based relationship with her court ladies. When the emperor visited, the

court ladies were able to perform their duties well, and when they had to make a book on the special occasion for the emperor, the court ladies were able to work properly, based on Shoshi's instructions.

Below is a table that summarizes the comparison of salons, based on the leadership style of the hostesses. (Table 4-1)

Table 4-1

Comparison between the salon of Teishi and the salon of Shoshi

	Leadership of the mistress	Followership of the ladies	Characters of the ladies	Ranks of the ladies	reputation
Teishi	◎ strong	◎ admiration	socialble	○	◎
Shoshi	× weak	△ suble	restraint	◎	△

In the salon of Teishi, the ladies were highly engaged to the mistress and the salon. Mekata (2003) mentioned that "Everyone [at the salon of Teishi] had such a pride of the salon that they believed in the unparalleled excellence of the salon, and in that point, they had a sense of unity. "(p.589) Everybody who worked in the salon shared the hostess' vision and did their duties according to it. To put it more specifically, her court ladies entertained her salon members and customers with a sociable and educated manner in a good sense. It goes without saying that this improved the quality of omotenashi at her salon. The customers were pleased with the witty interactions, highly appreciated the hospitality and gave the salon a good reputation. And, after hearing about how her salon was highly evaluated, Teishi was thrilled to know that her court ladies could contribute to the salon, which led to her motivation to further improve her cultural skills.

Then, we look at the salon of Shoshi. Although the court ladies were most likely happy to serve the daughter of Michinaga, who was also a noble lady, but their status as the daughters of upper-class aristocrats hindered them from becoming unified like what happened in the salon of Teishi. With only little knowledge in omotenashi or "making people happy" and the lack of initiative from the hostess to train the court ladies, their opportunity to grow was difficult to find. It was difficult for them to understand how to behave and what they should do to please and respond to their customers. The fact that there was no concrete example set by their hostess also had an influence.

1-3-4 Management of Feelings

Let's take a look at omotenashi at the salon of Teishi and the salon of Shoshi from another point of view. What supported the salon's omotenashi was reciprocal *Waka* recitation, and *Waka* was considered as a mean to express one's emotions at a time when emotional rule was strict. The role of the court ladies was to communicate with the customers in place of the hostess by making *waka* in order to increase the status and evaluation of the hostess, and the skill of expressing their emotion was considered as the most important.

In the salon of Teishi, Teishi constantly set a concrete example on how to manage emotions. She encouraged them to always appear happy and to reply with a good sense, to be brilliant and witty, and to change hardship into humor with pride. There was a time after the death of her father, Michitaka and the ousting of her brother from his position as the Minister of the Right, while she was staying temporarily at her uncle's residence because the Imperial Palace was burnt. When she was asked by a Lieutenant General of the Right, "Why did you not cut the grass?" because the grass around her salon was thick, one of her court ladies answered without hesitation, "[Teishi] suggested that we enjoy watching the beauty of the dew, so we purposefully did not cut the grass." Receiving the reply from the court ladies, who loved and proudly supported their hostess even in the time of trouble, the lieutenant felt a great deal of admiration.

According to the emotional management theory provided by Hochschild (1983), it seems that the court ladies of the salon of Teishi were able to adapt themselves with their hostess' thought and could manage their own emotions. How did they do it? First of all, the court ladies had a close relationship with their mistress and the salon, so they were able to perform deep acting. When the mistress was not present or even when she did not notice, the court ladies were able to "express their emotions appropriately as members of the salon of Teishi". In addition, the hostess herself became a role model in emotion management by always showing appropriate emotional expressions. For example, during the time of trouble, when Sei Shonagon was accused to be working for Michinaga and had to return to her hometown. When Teishi met Shonagon again, she was able to change her sadness into laughter, and even made some riddles about it, making the atmosphere of her salon to be bright again.

Sei Shonagon described her memory of meeting Teishi for the first time in *The Pillow Book*. On the first day she was so shy and she could not answer any *waka*. However, Teishi was understood her conditions, and she could finally regain her self-confidence after receiving advice and trainings from everyone in the salon. At last, she was able to pass the occasional tests set by Teishi and respond with

wits that made her stand out. Teishi had a great confidence in her court ladies, which made them all unite under her. She worked hard to develop her ability in the emotional management of the salon of Teishi.

For the court ladies who worked at the salon of Teishi, emotional management was directly related to the evaluation result of the salon, and it was also one of the reasons why they were motivated to work for their mistress, whom they respected. It is likely that the reason why Teishi was able to perform her emotional management easily was due to her ability in sharing the visions of the salon in an appropriate way to her court ladies.

More importantly, the salon's customers spread the good reputation of the salon due to the witty exchanges that they had with the court ladies, and this led to the wide recognition of the salon among high-cultured people and noblemen. In emotional labor, the exchange value of both giving and receiving sides is equivalent. In relation to the work of the court ladies, in the case of Sei Shonagon, for example, her conversation partner, noblemen thought "Sei Shonagon's words were great!", and then he would have said to his friend, "I had this poetry exchange with Sei Shonagon. She was a truly exceptional woman of high cultural experience!", and this could spread along the friendship circle. Finally, such praise went back to Teishi Salon. As a court lady, she would have thought that she had received a good evaluation.

In the case of Shoshi, the rule of emotional expression for omotenashi was not specified and she did not provide any guidance. The court ladies were unable to read the intentions of the mistress, and they could not reach the attitude of overcoming their own embarrassment and irregularities to communicate properly with their customers.

The figures below (figures4-2 and 4-3) summarizes the two examples from the viewpoint of emotional labor and the values of the place.

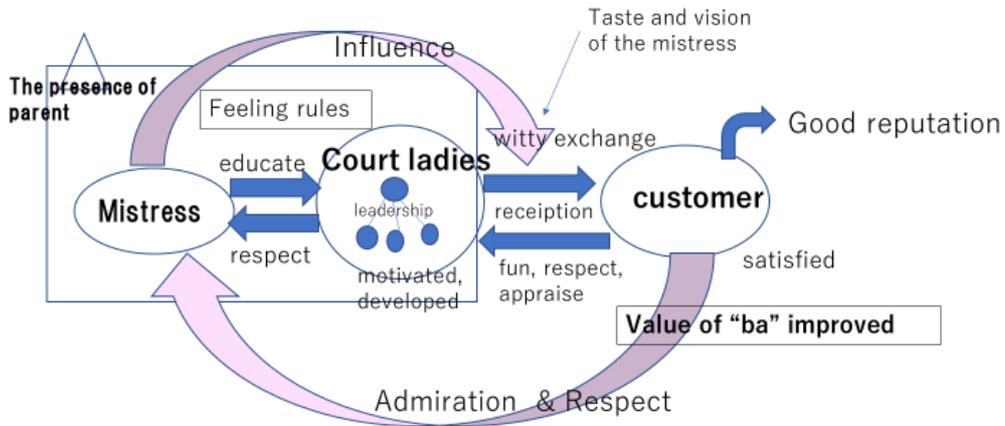


figure 4-2 Success case of improving the value of ba by emotion management

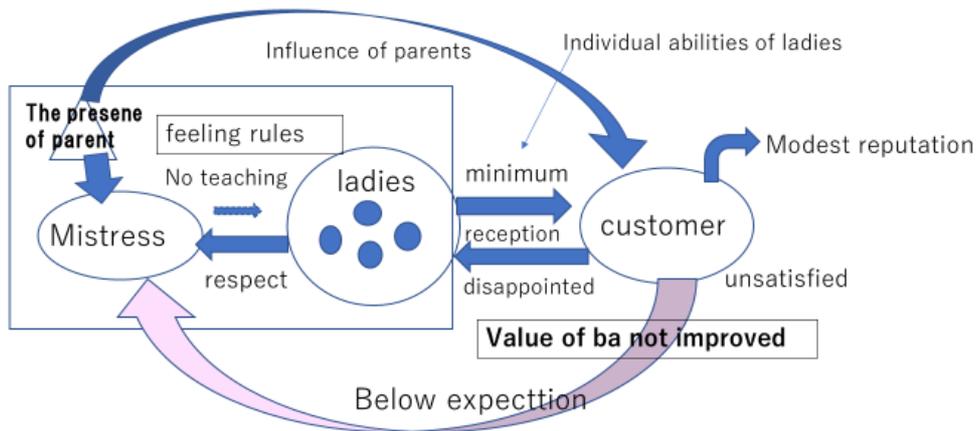


Figure 4-3 Failure case of improving the value of ba

1-4. Shared Sensibility

Two characteristic salons at court were compared based on leadership and emotional management above.

Finally, I would like to mention the major feature of the Heian period banquets, which is shared by political banquets and salons as mentioned in the first section of this chapter, which is that participants share their emotions and sensibility (the ability to sense) and express a certain emotion in the banquets.

For example, in *The Tale of Genji*, participants shed tears due to the splendor of Genji's performance. In "Momiji no Ga", Genji performed a dance in front of the emperor. Due to its beauty, the emperor and all of the audience wept. It is written, "though the dance was a familiar one, Genji scarcely seemed of this world...his auditors could have believed they were listening to the Kalavinka bird of paradise. The emperor brushed away tears of delight, and there were tears in the eyes of all the princes and high courtiers as well." (p.132) Even in "Hana no En", it was written that "the Minister of the Left forgot anger ...There were tears in his eyes" (p.151), a scene that could not be observed in daily lives of the minister. In every scene, everyone was impressed with the beauty of Genji's performance and shed some tears.

In the aristocratic society of that period, showing the appropriate emotion for an emotional thing was considered to be "a correct response". In particular, what was emphasized in *The Tale of Genji* was the act of shedding tears". In the banquet where the beautiful dance of Genji was performed where all audiences shed their tears, it is important to look at what are considered as "beauty" in the culture at that particular time, to embrace the appropriate association, and to respond with the appropriate emotion in an appropriate form. In other words, to shed proper tears at the right intensity.

Nowadays, it may be considered awkward to react properly in a ceremony or other events, but in the era of *The Tale of Genji*, the ability to correctly show emotional reactions was essential for the noble society. It became even more necessary for those at the higher level of the society. Expressing one's emotion as it is was a non-aristocratic way and the person may be subjected to ridicule and could be excluded from the community. In addition to the community, emphasis was placed on "how to hold and express proper feelings (especially emotion)". Experiencing a sensation correctly --understanding the cultural background, understanding and sharing the feelings of the other person-- was required to show a correct expression. "Tears" in the banquet of *The Tale of Genji* showed that the audience understood the implicit scripts shared by everyone in the place and were able to express them correctly with sensibilities that were appropriate to the community. It was the right experience in this banquet.

More specifically, in the banquets of the Heian Period, everyone who was the main subjects or participants were required to manage their emotions. Perhaps they might not even have been aware that they were "managing" themselves. The reason was because aristocratic princes and princesses were taught about sensibility and feeling rules (often by court ladies) from a young age.

In interactions of poems, people do not express their emotions just as they are, but instead, they had to compose songs that are suitable for the flow on the spot. For example, in the beginning of a love story, a

man heard of some princess and he made her a *waka*, however the pattern had already been decided as to what kind of *waka* to compose. Also, at first, the princess would not respond. In many cases, court ladies would reply with songs on behalf of the princess after the second and third songs. The princess finally returned the songs after the song of love from the man had been given several times, but the contents and expressions basically had their patterns determined. To the effect of "saying such a thing is unbelievable", she usually used a phrase of *waka* from *the Kokin-shu* or other sources and added repeated expressions in order to compose a reply. The reply must be done immediately. Therefore, the memorization of *Kokin Waka-shu* is indispensable. Not just memorizing, it is also necessary to have a level of mastering to know what to compose in different situations. In this way, the aristocrats did not directly express the scenes or feelings that are in front of their eyes, but also used the poems from *the Kokin-shu*, and quoted only a part of it (altered it) in composing their *waka*. The conversation partner must identify the original song from a slight phrase, understood the feelings of the composer, and replied using other parts of that same poem.

In the Heian Period, the participants in the salon, both the host and the customers, were required to act properly in order to make "ba" become livelier. It was natural for everyone to follow "kata" and to share their emotions based on high-level common knowledge. In other words, after seeing one scene, everyone was expected to understand the canonical Chinese poems and Japanese poems in *Kokin-shu* behind it, as well as various backgrounds, such as origin and history behind it, in order to comprehend the context and intention, and to guess the deep meaning that the composer wanted to convey. It can be said that the collective value of the banquet was more on the artistic realization of emotion management that was embedded deep in the unconscious level of the mind, developed through high-level cultural training rather than on a conscious act to liven up the banquet by everyone present by prioritizing the whole values of "ba", not one's own interests.

2 Impression Management Seen in *The Tale of Genji*

2-1 The Significance of *The Tale of Genji* in the Study of Emotion

In discussing the origin of Japanese omotenashi in the viewpoint of marketing, Aishima and Sato (2015, 2016a, 2016b) argued that the Japanese concept of omotenashi originated from the sequence of the historical flow of the banquets described in the *Manyo-shu*, *renga* gathering, and the *chanoyu* that was influenced by Sen-no-Rikyu. The culture of a “reading atmosphere” was focused in the papers; that is, the ability of reading delicate nuances of the atmosphere in those banquets and gatherings as well as the ability to compose poems appropriate to a situation was indispensable in those days. To be successful in such occasions, guests as well as hosts should have the highest level of culture, the sophisticated techniques of poetry composition, and above all, the ability of sensing the subtle changes in mood.

From the research mentioned above, I recognize the importance of clarifying how the essential abilities to read the subtle changes of an atmosphere in Japanese omotenashi could be nurtured. In this paper, I intend to analyze the expression of emotions described in *The Tale of Genji* (hereafter referred as *Genji*), that is, the occurrence and expression of emotions (and the rule), and the strategies of impression management (IM) of the main characters. The reasons are as follows:

In recent years, in marketing research, emotion has been shown to play an important role in the creation of customer values and co-creation of values in experience marketing, the Service Dominant Logic, and the Service Logic of Nordic school. In addition, in the service marketing, emotional labor and the impression management by sales personnel have been treated as traditional objects of study. Therefore, the study of emotional occurrence and emotion expression serves as a backbone of the previous research.

Otsuka (2000) explained in *Characters Could Not Show Emotions in The Tale of Genji*, an ambitious work with a rather sensational title, that the expression of Japanese emotions has completely changed just after the *Genji*. According to Otsuka, the characters including Hikaru Genji, the shining prince, in *Genji* conceal their emotions, whereas the gods and goddesses in *Kojiki*, the oldest book in Japanese history, demonstrate their feelings forthrightly. They often cry, shout, laugh, and become upset. Otsuka (2000) attempted to analyze their ways of expressing emotions in two categories of Japanese classic literature: (1) before *Genji*, for example, *Kojiki*, *Man-yo-shu*, and Old Buddhist Stories, and (2) after *Genji*, for example, *Konjaku Monogatari* and *the Tale of Heike*. Otsuka (2000) also argued that contemporary Japanese share similar ways of (not) expressing emotions in those days. There is a possibility that her

argument corresponds, at a deeper level, to the point that the unspoken rules of contemporary karaoke parties are similar to those in the *Manyo-shu* banquets and *renga* gatherings.

Apart from the academic (or scientific) authenticity of the claim, Otsuka (2000) has a point in her categorization of the historical trend of Japanese emotional expressions. Therefore, it is important to decode *Genji*. The occurrence and expression of emotions or the IM strategy of the Japanese who possess a collectivistic and interdependent sense of self with a high-context communication culture is considered different from those of the Anglo Saxons who have an individualistic and independent self-view and a low context communication culture. If they are different, it is impractical to apply, to Japan, the theory of marketing research and consumer behavior research generated in the United States. It could even lead to a misunderstanding. A Japanese-style marketing research that is theoretically grounded on the foundation of the Japanese culture and its social structure and consumer behavior is required. Therefore, it is significant to analyze the emotions portrayed in *Genji*, which provides the impetus for the “creation” of emotion in the contemporary Japanese.

Holbrook (1999, p. 12) described the eight categories of feelings (efficiency, excellence, status, esteem, play, aesthetics, ethics, and spirituality) that relate to the typical sentiments of consumers by using a 3-dimensional matrix of 2×2 , while in *Genji*, there are strikingly few categories of emotions. Rather, the characters in *Genji* understand skillfully each other's feelings, which are expressed in subtle but diverse ways, just as infinite shades are expressed in *sumi-e* (Japanese ink painting), which is drawn in black and white. In this field, as a study of “self-monitoring in social interaction,” the comparative analysis of the high and low self-monitoring features has been advanced (Ickes, et. al. 2006). However, I do not think that the comparison between high self-monitor and low self-monitor could explain the ability of Hikaru Genji, the protagonist in *Genji*, to capture the feelings of his opponent.

Therefore, it is necessary to examine the reality of *Genji*. In the research of the classic literature, almost all scholars agree that while the novel written by Murasaki Shikibu in the 11th century was a fiction, it was rich in reality, based on customs, values, cultures, human relations, events, and so on. For instance, Goto (1986) discussed in detail the political conflicts, events, and the atmosphere at the courts described in the novel and reasoned that they were based on historical facts. Imai et.al (1991) argued that Murasaki Shikibu accounted faithfully the customs and conducts in those days and detailed several scenes in *Genji* with reference to historical records. Tanaka (1995) confirmed that historical facts were heavily reflected in the fictional novel. Masuda (2002) highlighted that the aristocratic society described in *Genji* was a realistic

portrayal of the social aspect of the Heian period. As such, there is no further requirements to confirm the novel's authentic depiction of the Heian era based on the numerous validations from the previous studies.

However, it is important to provide an overview of the influences of *Genji* on Japanese culture in subsequent periods, the emergence and expression of emotions, or the IM strategies in particular. In the Muromachi (1336–1573) and Azuchi Momoyama (1573–1603) periods, when *renga* was popular irrespective of titles, occupations, and social positions, knowledge of *Genji* was necessary for even common people to compose *renga* poems, because the poems reflect the aesthetics of the classic. An immense number of picture scrolls, synopsis, parody fictions, or dramas based on *Genji* were enjoyed by the people so that the novel, its values, and its aesthetic consciousness became widespread in the society, irrespective of rank.

A parody of the classic titled *Incredible Tale of Genji, A Country Bumpkin* was one of the best-selling books in the Edo period (1603–1868). It is true that *Genji* was sometimes criticized as immoral by Buddhists or the government, and Murasaki Shikibu was said to have been condemned for writing the novel. Nevertheless, many novelists and poets willingly used the novel as reference even in those days. Ihara Saikaku (1642–1693) wrote *the Life of a Lady's Man*, one of his most famous novels, based on *Genji*. Matsuo Basho (1644–1694) applied some phrases and sentences of *Genji* into his *Narrow Road to the Deep North*. Ueda Akinari was influenced by the classic in writing *Ugetsu Monogatari* (1776). In addition, there are a large number of literary pieces created under the influence of *Genji* in theatrical performances, such as *kabuki*, *Noh*, and *Joruri*, as well as in pictures. Motoori Norinaga, an established scholar on Japanese culture, pointed out brilliantly that the essence of *Genji* is not a romance but “*mono-no-aware*,” (an empathy toward things), which resulted in the novel earning an unshakable position in Japanese literature (Teramoto 1983, Suzuki 2003, Iwatsubo 2013).

In the Meiji era (1868–1912), *Genji* was utilized as an advertising material for projecting good images or ideas of Japan, and as teaching aids for girls. Suematsu Kencho, a diplomat, first translated *The Tale of Genji* into English. However, his translation was given an undeservingly low evaluation by scholars. In fact, Seidensticker was influenced by the Suematsu version in translating *Genji*. Suematsu translated the novel to manipulate Japan's image for the Europeans, particularly the British, so that they would have a positive opinion of the Japanese. His intention was to show them that the Japanese in the 11th century could produce such a deep and sophisticated work of literature, aptly grasping the human nature. In addition, Suematsu attempted to apply it as a guidebook of Japanese culture, and dismissed the idea that

Japan was a feudal, male chauvinistic society as perceived by the Europeans in those days (Kawakatsu 2008, pp. 44–52).

Suematsu also regarded *Genji* as a somewhat realistic novel. An advocate for female education, Suematsu praised Murasaki Shikibu for her acute power of observation and delicate touch. He intended to publicize that Japanese women, even during the Heian period, had enjoyed a far higher level of education than expected (Kawakatsu 2008, pp. 76–81).

In 1938, an explanation was added in the elementary school textbooks that *Genji* had been accepted as a piece of world literature. After 1951, people began enjoying the classic with much enthusiasm in its various new versions, for example, with more readable synopsis, or in *kabuki* and movies (Kawakatsu 2008, p. 397). Tanizaki Junichiro referred to *Genji* when he wrote *The Makioka Sisters*, which became very popular among women. Pertaining to this point, Donald Keene (2013) stated as follows:

The theme of *The Tale of Genji* is so universal [as] to cross the borders between languages. It has received high praise from abroad. There are various translations in more than ten languages. For example, Waley, Seidensticker, and Tyler, my student, published the translation in English. I prefer Waley's...

There are also many translations of *Genji* into modern Japanese, for which Tanizaki is the most famous. Once I wrote for a literary magazine that, in comparison, Waley's translation is superior to that of Tanizaki. I regretted for being rude to Tanizaki, and sent a written apology to him. I was very relieved because he answered, "I don't care."

Tanizaki was probably influenced by *Genji*. It has been said that he would not have been able to write *The Makioka Sisters* if he had not worked on the *Genji* translation into modern Japanese. Around 1948, Tanizaki sent Waley *The Makioka Sisters*, consisting of three volumes, with his own signature. Not interested in Japanese modern literature, Waley read but did not translate them. He gave me the books. I thought *The Makioka Sisters* was a masterpiece. However, Waley chose not to fulfill Tanizaki's wish to have the novel translated into English. As will be explained below, Yukiko, one of the main characters of *The Makioka Sisters*, shares the same IM strategy with Hikaru Genji, to a remarkable extent.

This paper is organized as follows. In Section II, I explain the research method for reading *The Tale of Genji* to show the emergence and expression of emotions and IM strategies specific to the Japanese

people. In Section III, the characteristics of emotion expressions are pointed out from the analysis of emotions in *Genji*. In Section IV, I compare between the analysis of emotions in *Genji* with the research results on emotion in American culture that is contrary to those of Japanese culture, which forms the basis of the emergence and expression of emotions, and IM strategies. Section V presents the summary of the conclusion of this study and future research themes.

2-2 Research Method of This Chapter

In this section, the method of analyzing *The Tale of Genji* is explained. I listed the typical scenes where the occurrence and expression of emotions, and IM strategies (emotional scenes) were evident in relation to Hikaru Genji; as a result, 70 scenes were selected.

Then, the emotional scenes were categorized by several standards: the emotional scenes of man–woman relationships centered on Hikaru Genji, the emotional scenes of women in relation to Hikaru Genji, and the emotional scenes of power relationships between men. A comparative analysis of the emotions that occurred was also performed; that is, the emotions were classified into two categories of positive and negative, and subsequently the two main categories were re-classified into subcategories.

Furthermore, if possible, the process of continuous changes of the occurrence and management of emotions (which included IM as well as emotion management) was pursued. Emotion is considered temporal; hence, the study of emotion has been developed on this premise. In *Genji*, many scenes illustrate the petrification process of emotions.

Finally, I analyze the success and failure patterns of the IM strategies in two cases, that is, the IM strategies against Hikaru Genji and those of Genji. He failed in his IM strategy when he was young, and this leads to his relegation to Suma. Afterwards, he utilizes the bitter experience to overcome the ensuing emotional scenes. Next, the following section shows the results of the analysis.

2-3 Analysis of the expression of emotions in *The Tale of Genji*

In this section, I explain the results of analysis of expression of emotions in *Genji* as follows. First, the system of social position and the social structure are shown, and this helps clarify the rules of the emergence and expression of emotions, and the IM strategy. Secondly, the dynamic features of the emergence and expression of emotions, and the IM strategies were organized according to timeline in the scenes where the upper and middle nobility showed their emotions. Finally, I report the results of the

analysis of the IM strategies that were taken by the protagonist, Genji, and the characters around him.

2-3-1 Social Structures and the Occurrence of Emotions in the Main Characters of *The Tale of Genji*

From the analysis of the emotional scenes in *Genji*, there are diverse rules or norms in the emergence and expression of emotions in accordance with their characters' social class. Upper class aristocracy, particularly highest echelon of the upper nobility (i.e., those who were close to the emperor and the crown prince) showed no great emotion for two following reasons: (1) political reason (if they showed their emotion, they might run the risk of giving their political rivals some cues of their weaknesses), and (2) social reason (those who expressed their emotions freely were regarded as vulgar. The upper nobility had been taught not to express their emotions, and not to show strong emotions. I will explain in detail in the following.

In general, the upper class aristocracy includes, according to the order of titles, in the first place, *daijō-daijin* (Grand Minister); in the second place, *sadaijin* (Minister of the Left), *udaijin* (Minister of the Right), and *naidaijin* (Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal); in the third place, *dainagon* (Major Counselor, chief counselor of state), and *chunagon* (Middle Counselor); and in the fourth place, the councilor. The middle-class aristocracy consists of non-councilors of the fourth, and the fifth rank aristocracy. In addition, there is another category: It is the "super-upper-class nobility" consisting of the "relatives of the Emperor, the Crown Prince, the Empress, and the Princess."

In the upper-class aristocracy, *daijō-daijin*, the Minister of the Left, the Minister of the Right, and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal classes nearly overlap with the super upper-class aristocracy. In other words, only members of the super-upper-class aristocracy have the chance of being a *daijō-daijin* and Ministers of the Left and Right, and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Even nobilities who are not related to Emperor, or even distant relatives, could reach the position of *dainagon*. In such cases, *dainagon* is the highest career point for these classes. It was impossible for a person of this standing to establish communication with the super-upper-class aristocracy. In the case of the super-upper-class aristocracy, one would start as a *dainagon* for a while in youth, and then, he would attain promotion to higher positions. (In general, he starts the career ladder from the fourth.) Yugiri, a son of Genji, who starts from the sixth place is quickly promoted to the fourth, the third, and then to the second place.

It is important to point out that there is an insuperable gap between the super-upper-class aristocracy and other upper-class aristocracy. Not a few middle-class aristocrats were stationed in remote areas as

zuryo, or governors. In many cases, they prospered there. In fact, people in those days had imagined that *zuryo* led rich lives in their respective areas. On the other hand, the people scorned the *zuryo* for leaving the Capital to remote and unsophisticated areas. For example, the father of Lady Akashi is looked down on because he is a rich *zuryo*. Suetsumu Hana, a young lady of noble birth, repeatedly refuses the offers by her aunt to move to Kyushu, where her husband was appointed as *zuryo*.

There are some cases where even ladies from the super-upper-class nobility marry *zuryo*, by some quirks of fate. In those days, the parents of the wife (the first wife, or the one from the most distinguished family) had to care for the man (son-in-law), from the preparation of his clothes to financial support. Thus, parents without such properties or assets could not marry off their daughter to a desirable candidate, even if the parents are relatives of the Emperor or the Crown Prince.

Then, I classify the differences of the social norms at that time that became the foundations of the emotions of the upper-class aristocracy (including super upper class aristocracy) and of the middle-class aristocracy. In examining the emotional scenes of middle-class aristocracy, *The Tale of Ochikubo*, also a typical popular novel in those days, is referred to.

I start with the case of a successful romance. Table 4-2 shows the evaluations of a successful romance seen from the male side. Since it is natural for the parents from the female side to provide the male with economic assistance, the fulfillment of love is heavily depended on their wealth status.

Table 4-2 Successful Romance Seen from the Male Side.

Male	Female			
		Upper class	Middle but rich	Middle
	Upper class	Satisfied, pleased	Accept	Comfy
Middle	Joy, walking in the air	Agree	Accept	

In Table 4-2, both the man and lady from the upper class would think that the spouse is a “legitimate partner,” in that their partnership is well balanced. On the other hand, Table 4-3 shows unsuccessful romance from the male side.

Table 4-3 Unsuccessful Romance Seen from the Male Side.

		Female		
		Upper class	Middle but rich	Middle
Male	Upper	Forget or accept	Lost interest	Despise
	Middle	Burn for love	Accept	Forget

In the case of romance, a man from the upper-class aristocracy would attempt to make a situation possible, even though it is unfavorable in the beginning. It is not rare that they would use their power or realize a situation as they pleased. They would not retain their love if the relationship with a woman does not go well from the middle.

Table 4-4 shows the case of rivalries between men. In the upper-class aristocracy, the subtle differences between their positions create a significant impact on their relationships. For example, when both are super-upper-class, the man from the slightly lesser class would tend to have a strong sense of competitiveness against his opponent who is slightly higher class.

Table4-4 Sense of Rivalry between the Men.

		The opponent	
		Upper class	Middle
The person	Upper	Strong	None
	Middle	None	Average

Table 4-5 shows the case of rivalries between the women. When they have romantic relationships with the same man, the sense of rivalry is “(relatively) strong” in every case. For Sei Shōnagon and Murasaki Shikibu, if the two serve noble ladies (e.g., empresses, princesses, or noble wives) in the rivalry, they also become rivals. In addition, the speediness of their son’s promotion would also lead to rival relationships.

Table 4-5 Sense of Rivalry between the Women.

		The opponent	
		Upper stream	Middle
The person	Upper	Strong	None
	Middle	None	Average

Table 4-6 shows the master-servant relationship between the male. In general, the upper stream aristocracy has parent-like relationships with their servants. The persons from the middle stream aristocracy rarely have close feelings with their servants.

Table 4-6 Master-Servant Relationship between the Men.

The person	Servant	
	Upper stream	Trust, consideration, responsibility
	Middle	?

Table 4-7 shows the master-servant (maid) relationship of women. Compared to the upper class, wives and daughters of middle-class aristocracy seem to cognize their role as the master. In *Genji*, such women are described as arrogant. In *the Tale of Ochikubo*, the servants try to change jobs for better prospects when they could not foresee much possibility in the future of their master. Though the main characters in *The Tale of Ochikubo* are in the upper class aristocracy, most of them are not noble members of the super upper class; therefore, they had no direct communications with the Emperor or the Crown Prince.

Table 4-7 Master-Servant Relationship between the Men.

The Person	Servant (maid)	
	Upper	Trust, consideration, responsibility
	Middle	Sense of master or employer

Finally, Table 4-8 shows the parent-child relationship. In the upper class aristocracy, the parents tend to devote themselves to the education of the boys, since they will grow up and serve the Emperor. The daughters are also cherished and educated to be a princess or empress. In the case of middle-class aristocracy, because they could not seek for such high positions, the boys are educated moderately. On the other hand, the parents can harbor wishes to have their daughter serve at the court, and to be near the Emperor or the Crown Prince.

Table 4-8 Parent-Child Relationship

		Opponent	
		Boy	Girl
The person	Upper	Expectation, responsibility, pleasure	Expectation
	Middle	Moderate expectation	Ambition

Thus far, the basic work has been completed necessary for introducing the emotional scenes in *Genji*. In the following, I present the analysis results of the dynamism of the occurrence and expression of emotions.

2-3-2 Dynamism of the Occurrence and Expression of Emotions (IM strategy).

(1) Negative emotions

I start the explanation with the occurrence-expression of negative emotions. As seen above, the upper class nobles, essentially, were not considered to have negative emotions. If the upper class aristocracy demonstrates a negative emotion, it is because the romance has not gone well. In the following, the situations are classified into two: (1) “the love has gone,” and (2) “things do not go as they have expected.”

Table 4-9 shows the emotion occurrence and emotion management of the super upper class aristocracy, upper class aristocracy, and middle-class aristocracy when “the love has gone.” While the upper class nobles think that they should accept such fate, and they would try consciously to do so, the super upper class would unconsciously regard the situation as fate.

Table 4-9 Occurrence and Expression of Emotions (IM strategies) When “Love is gone.”

	Flows of Occurrence and Expression of Emotions (IM strategy)
Super upper	Sad→sighs over his or her fate→sings a part of poems in <i>Kokinshu</i> and covers the face with the sleeve (suggesting tears)
Upper	Sad→tries to accept it as fate but in vain→composes a poem expressing the sorrow; show of tears
Middle	Sad→grieves→shows bitterness, grudges, and resentment; and weeps
Lower	Sad→vents the feelings openly to somebody

Table 4-10 shows a comparison of the feelings between the four social classes in the case that “things

do not go as they have expected.”

Table 4-10 Occurrence and expression of emotions (IM strategies)

When “Things Do Not Go s They Have Expected.”

	Flows of Occurrence and Expression of Emotions (IM strategy)
Super upper	Gets somewhat surprised→ wonders if some demonic power has worked and becomes convinced
Upper	Becomes surprised and goes into a bad temper→ tries to overcome the feelings→ grumbles sometimes→ leaves it unsettled/laments over his or her fate→ accepts fate
Middle	Bad mood→ blames other persons for the situation→ continues on blaming →accepts/has the anger calmed by somebody else
Lower	Feels disappointed but recovers relatively fast

(2) Positive emotions

Subsequently, the occurrence and expression of positive emotions and the IM strategies are explained in the following. In the super upper aristocracy, they seldom have positive feelings. In *Genji*, the upper class nobility feels happy in a few cases, whereas the middle-class aristocracy often feels glad. However, common people feel various positive emotions. Table 4-11 shows the flow of emotion occurrence and emotion expression between the four social classes when “they get satisfactory results.”

Table 4-11 Occurrence and Expression of Emotions (IM strategies)

When “They Get Satisfactory Results.”

	Flows of Occurrence-Expression of Emotions (IM strategy)
Super upper	Satisfied→ grateful for the fate→ happy, but afraid if someone may see the feeling→ hides the happiness
Upper	Happy, satisfied→ thankful to somebody and fate→ is in a good mood, shows tears of joy sometimes→ eager to talk
Middle	Happy, joyful→ thankful to the Gods or fate→ is in a good mood→ weeps for joy→ has a celebration party sometimes

Lower	Happy, joyful→ thankful to the Gods, and is pleased to think it as a reward for worshipping the gods→ cries for joy
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In *Characters Could Not Show Emotions in The Tale of Genji*, Otsuka (2000) explained about the negative emotions in the following:

[T]hus, tears of the Heian period are not peculiar to commoners. The way of showing tears is particular to the nobility. They did not weep because of hunger, pain related to their labor, or poverty. Rather, their tears are for matters far above such concerns. (Otsuka 2000, pp. 65–7)

[In *Genji*,] the main characters never show their anger, even if they are upset. Only lower persons or countrymen display anger. In the noble class, the feelings of anger are limited to the villains, Empress Kokiden or the adopted Princess Omi, who have no knowledge of noble manners. It is true that the main characters, both men and women, weep often, but they manage to suppress their tears even when they have reasons to cry profusely. On the contrary, they smile in such situations. (Otsuka 2000, pp. 87)

Hikaru Genji himself was the person who always suppresses anger... [To the people on the enemy side] he did not show anger... Such attitudes of Genji were favorably regarded as “generous” by the people. His tolerance led to his popularity and resulted in him winning the support of those around him. They led to “cordial human relations” through the suppression of emotional expression. (Otsuka 2000, pp. 113–4)

As already explained, the people in the upper aristocracy of that era avoided showing their emotions overtly because there were more disadvantages to expressing them; that is, they are relatives to each other by marriage in a closed social circle. In addition, as promotions were often determined by human relations and personalities rather than political abilities or education, they thought that it be advantageous not to express their honest feelings. Realistically, plain expression of emotions might lead to trouble. Politics in those days were founded on private human relationships. Therefore, they could not find any merit in showing their emotions openly.

The other reason is that they showed no expression of emotions as a sign of “being (upper class) noble.”

The expressionlessness had some effects to differentiate with other people. As is explained in the leisure class of theory (Veblen 1899) and the “cultural capital” concept (Bourdieu 1979), the investment of the nobles onto things useless for their jobs, unnatural gestures, and high cultures had a class identification effect. In *Genji*, they usually read the slight change of feelings of the other(s) from facial expressions, which apparently give them no hints. They also manage to understand the other person(s) who muttered a single phrase (of the old poem).

Finally, the results are presented of an analysis of the IM strategies implemented between the protagonist and the characters around Genji.

2-3-3 IM Strategies against and of Genji

First, the failure cases of the IM strategies in Genji will be introduced. In a typical scene, Lady Suetsumu Hana, who is originally a princess from the imperial family, lacks beauty and culture as well as wealth and wit, but is supported by Genji as one of his lovers, sends him a gift for an adopted daughter’s coming-of-age ceremony. Suetsumu tries to show her good personality, but the gift is shabby and old-fashioned. Moreover, the (poor) poem attached to it does not fit the situation; namely, she laments over her fate, as she could not be with him. Her gift giving has created an opposite effect (“Miyuki” *Genji*, Vol. 2, pp. 476–7). In this matter, Genji despises Suetsumu. By analyzing the scene, the reasons for the failure of her IM strategy are summarized as four points as follows:

- 1) She does not understand her own position: She had better be quiet and do nothing in such occasion.
- 2) She fails to have the sympathy of Genji as she sticks to her own principles and does not hesitate to have her own way.
- 3) She could not make herself cultured in that she always makes poor poems with the same (old-fashioned) pattern. She is too pure to behave according to the situation.

On the other hand, a successful IM strategy against Genji is presented by the former Emperor Suzaku, whose daughter Genji accepts as his first wife. (“Wakana” *Genji*, Vol. 2, pp. 547–9). The flow of the IM strategy is as follows.

Suzaku wishes that Genji would marry his third princess, Sannomiya, because he was the most trusted, but he knows that there is Lady Murasaki, who is treated virtually as the first wife and that it seems there is nothing left to be desired for her.

In an uncertain voice, Suzaku talked of old and recent happenings... 'Fearing that I might die without accomplishing the first of my resolves, I have finally taken the step. Now that I have changed to these dark robes, I know more than ever how little time I have ahead of me. I fear that I shall not go far down the way I have chosen. I might be satisfied with the easier route. I shall calm my thoughts for a time and invoke the holy name, and that will be all. I am not a man of very grand and rare substance, and I cannot think that I am meant for anything different. I must reprove myself for the years of lazy indecisions. He described his plans and hopes and managed to touch upon the matter that worried him most. I am sad for all of my daughters, but most of all for the most inadequately protected of them.

Genji feels sad for Suzaku. Suzaku admits that that it is hard to choose a suitable husband and says that he should have made a proposal to Yugiri, the son of Genji, while he was still single.

Genji is so moved by the former emperor's word as to say that he is willing to "take responsibility" of her. Indeed, he has been interested in the third princess of Suzaku. The fact that he dares not to think of it seriously is because of Lady Murasaki.

The reasons of the success of the IM strategies of Suzaku are as follows:

1) He understands their mutual positions: Suzaku is superior to Genji in his social position, but talks as if they were on the same level, in front of "the Buddha."

2) He avoids saying things logically or clearly. He chooses to evoke sympathy of Genji by suggesting that he is worried about her daughter, Sannomiya; as a result, Genji feels sorry for him. Furthermore, he hints that there is nobody suitable for the daughter except Genji, by saying that he should have asked Yugiri to marry her.

3) He shows culture and manages to control his honest feelings: He needs not appeal to his culture, but his talks of Buddhism suggest his lofty personality. He hides the sickness to Genji in the scene.

Firstly, the IM strategy for Genji of Suzaku is one of the most successful in *Genji*. As already made clear, the successful and failure patterns of the IM strategy for Genji are just the opposite of each other. Secondly, the IM strategy of Genji himself must be explained. In the scene, Genji attempts to draw a yes from Lady Murasaki on the case of Suzaku's request ("Wakana" *Genji*, Vol. 2, pp. 549-50).

Although she knows of Suzaku's intention, Lady Murasaki has never dreamt that Genji would accept the request of Suzaku. Genji could not dare to confess his decision on that day. On the following day,

Genji tells her the conversation between Suzaku and him. He says,

He is in very poor health indeed...He said many sad things, but what seems to trouble him most as he goes off to his retreat is the future of the Third Princess...I was really so sorry for him that I found it impossible to refuse. I suppose people will make a great thing of it. The thought of taking a bride at my age has seemed so utterly preposterous that I have tried through this and that intermediacy to suggest a certain want of ardor. But to see him in person and to have heard directly from him—I simply could not bring myself to refuse. Do you think that when the time does finally come for him to go off into the mountains, we might have her come here? Would that upset you terribly? Please do not let it. Trust me, and tell profess the complete truth, that nothing is going to change. She has more right to feel insecure than you do.

Lady Murasaki replies as follows. “Yes, it is sad for her. The only thing that worries me is the possibility that she might feel less than completely at home.” She accepts his decision on the marriage.

The IM strategies by Genji in the scene above are as follows:

- 1) He evokes her sympathy by putting himself in her situation. He understands her feelings very well, and he carefully manages to make her feel pity for him.
- 2) He does not say it outwardly but rather suggests his intention indirectly. Instead, he attempts to win her sympathy. He focuses on Suzaku’s poor health and worries so that Lady Murasaki thinks she should agree to the decision in the situation.
- 3) He shows kindness and sincere love, which the partner could not refuse. Lady Murasaki admits she has no choice but to accept the situation.

The successes and failures of the IM strategies of and against Genji are in the state of the pair comparison, as already seen above. They are shown in Figure 4-4

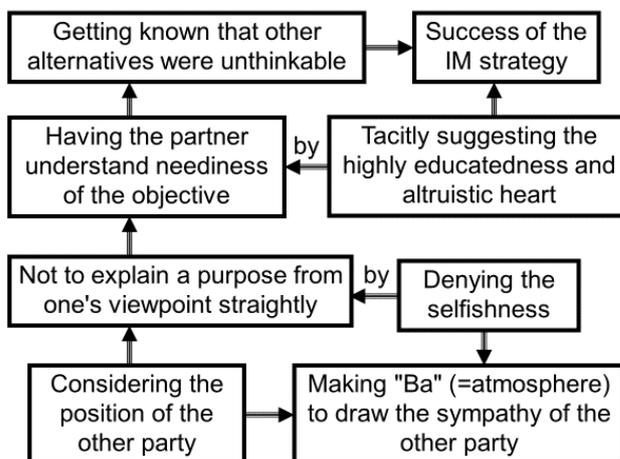


Figure 4-4 How the IM strategies succeeds

2-4 Discussion

This section compares the features clarified from the analysis of the emotional scene in *Genji* in the context of the framework of the IM strategy that has been mainly developed in the United States (Bolino 1999; Bolino, Long, and Turnley 2016; Côté and Hideg 2011; Diefendorff and Greguras 2008; Ferris, Treadway, et al. 2007; Gardener 1992; Grandey, Rafaeli, et al. 2010; Ickes, Holloway, et al. 2006; Jones and Pittman 1982; Johnson, Griffith, et al. 2001). The most famous framework for the IM strategy in the United States is presented by Jones and Pittman (1982), who classified the IM strategies into five types: ingratiation, self-promotion, intimidation, supplication, and exemplification. Jones and Pittman (1982) identified five types of IM strategy, which are categorized as assertive, whereas Gardener (1992) classified the strategy of face-saving as a defensive type. Defensive IM strategies consist of accounts: defenses of innocence (“I did not know”), excuses, justification, and apologies.

Distinct features are drawn from the introduction of the IM strategy, in the United States. Whether it is assertive or defensive, the IM strategy starts in the self-centered point of view. However, such IM strategies lead to failure in *Genji*. In order to succeed in the IM strategy in the classic, it is necessary to show the utmost consideration for the other party, as Figure 1 shows.

The second feature is that, whereas people express straightforwardly their purposes according to the IM strategy in the United States, the characters of *Genji* would have the other party guess the need for their own purpose. If they are to claim clearly their position, as in the United States, they could not achieve their intentions in *Genji*.

The third obvious features is that people attempt to move the other party, based on the “Opponent Management” to achieve a successful IM strategy in the United States; however, the characters in *Genji* reach their goals by sharing the “*ba*” (場 : the atmosphere of the place) with each other to the effect that they accept smoothly the result. If you try to move the opponent by the strategy in *Genji*, it leads to failure. To succeed in employing the IM strategy, they should share the “*ba*” with each other and create an atmosphere that suggests that there is no other choice. They are required to have high culture and altruistic minds toward each other.

The main characters, including Hikaru Genji, who are skilled in IM strategies, have much in common with the IM strategies of the characters in *the Makioka Sisters*, the famous novel written by Junichiro Tanizaki. The story is known to be based on the everyday lives of his wife, Matsuko, and her sisters.

Matsuko is a model of Sachiko (Tanizaki 2015). The story develops in the following.

The main characters in *the Makioka Sisters* are Tsuruko, Sachiko, Yukiko, and Taeko of a wealthy merchant of Semba in the mercantile city, Osaka. Tsuruko, clever and reliable, marries a banker and inherits the property of the family as the oldest of the four. Sachiko, the most beautiful and sociable, lives in Ashiya with her family. Together with his husband, an accountant, she is eager to seek a suitable husband for her younger sister, Yukiko. Yukiko, beautiful but too shy, tends to be seen as a gloomy person. Taeko, free and uncontrolled, tries to make her career as a doll artist. Her love affairs embarrass the sisters. The novel unfolds the marriage arrangements for Yukiko.

Sachiko worries if Yukiko might not marry young because of her shyness. She is always thinking about her sister and eager to arrange a formal marriage interview with a suitable man from good family and with good personality. Bright and sociable, she expresses her emotions relatively clearly. On the other hand, Yukiko seldom shows her emotions; she rarely laughs nor says no directly. However, she has her own opinion and never allows it to be changed or influenced by others. As a result, her family always guesses her feelings and tries to carry out her wishes.

Now, it is meaningful to examine the IM strategy of Yukiko in comparison with the IM strategy of Hikaru Genji. The results are as follows:

- 1) She evokes others' sympathies by behaving as if they share the same values. Therefore, Yukiko takes it for granted that they understand her values.
- 2) She avoids clarifying her intentions. She manages to make herself understood by her implicit nuances of words and hidden meanings.
- 3) She expresses her opinion only vaguely. People around her finally accept her intention before they know, though she never tries to persuade nor demand

Those strategies are obviously similar to those of Genji. Then, Is proceed to explain the features of people who are skilled in the IM strategy. The first feature is that they successfully build a "ba" with the standpoint of the opponent. To achieve the purpose, they use an IM strategy in accordance with a long-term script (a manual to show explicitly which behavior is acceptable in the culture). Hofstede (1994) pointed out that Japanese had collectivism-oriented and long-term-oriented culture, and in that, they are different from the American culture where people prefer individualistic thinking and short-term outcomes.

The second feature of a person skilled in the IM strategy is that they have a high level of ability to control their emotions. It might be said that they possess a high EQ (emotional quotient), that is, the ability

to understand the feelings of the other party as well as to control their own emotions (Goleman 2005). With regard to this, the question is why Genji could demonstrate such a high EQ. As Otsuka (2000) discussed, it might have been related to the coming of Buddhism. Zen Buddhism is the base of *cha-no-yu*. It is also important to see that the practice of mindfulness meditation is another element of Zen Buddhism. The practice of mindfulness allegedly helps to control emotions successfully (Ando 2003).

The third feature is that they had top quality culture. Boys from aristocratic families learn the literature of China from an early age with good tutors. Girls also have a first class knowledge of traditional poems taught by their nurse and governess who are both from noble families. The most important lesson is that of making elegant poems infused with literary techniques and based on the poetic tradition. They learn when they should express which emotions and how every day through reading poems and stories.

2-5 Conclusion

In the final section, the practical and theoretical contributions of this study are explained, and future research themes are suggested. In the first theoretical contribution, this study reveals that the features of emotion occurrence, emotion expression, and the IM strategy of the contemporary Japanese are traced back to those of the upper class nobles depicted in *Genji*. The second contribution is that the successful patterns of the IM strategies held by Japanese, who are collectivism-oriented and have interdependent views of themselves with a high-context communication style, are in striking contrast to those of the IM strategies in United States where people are individualism-oriented and have independent views of themselves with low-context communication styles.

The theoretical findings of the study stated above also have a practical significance in the field of organizational theory as well as marketing. For example, in the realm of marketing, the findings are useful for the co-creation of values between salespersons and the service provider and the customer in the B2C, or furthermore, the co-creation of values between C2C. In addition, it is to be applied to the co-creation of values among various entities among different cultures. It is probable that they are applied to emotion marketing in Japanese *omotenashi* and the aspect of emotional labor (Grandey and Gabriel 2015).

I admit that there is a limit to this study. It is necessary for more in-depth research to clarify the reasons why the upper-class nobles, including Hikaru Genji, are without plain and simple feelings, as seen above.

It is also required to conduct continuous study to uncover the reasons why and how the features of EQ originating from the upper-class nobility in *The Tale of Genji* have been passed down to the modern

Japanese, and why and how they have changed.

Finally, it is indispensable to examine again how to put the theoretical findings of this study to use in a series of studies of their own on omotenashi (Sato and Parry 2015; Aishima and Sato 2015a, 2015b, 2016; Sato and Aishima 2016).

3 Comparison of the Banquet of *Genji* with the Banquet of Jane Austen's Works

In this chapter, I would like to compare the banquets in *Genji* and those described in Jane Austen's works, from the value creation and the concept of "customer delight"

With regards to customer delight, Oliver et.al. (1997) argued that "surprise" brought about customer delight, as describing the state beyond satisfaction. Pine and Gilmore (1998) and many other scholars also put focus on the importance of surprise; or providing something exceeding any of the customer's expectations. For them, the relationship between provider and customer is unilateral. At first there is a provider's action (something surpassing the other's expectation), and the customer delight or satisfaction is produced as the result of it. In contrast, in Japanese omotenashi, there is no such relationship between provider (host) and customer (guest). This chapter shows the possibility of another mechanism of creating delight in Japanese omotenashi, using the scenes of banquets from *The Tale of Genji*.

Let us reconfirm the mechanism of value creation in Japanese banquet. First, the host is not always counterpart of the guest. Rather than that, both the host and the guests collaborate to make the most of the occasion to create the value in the whole. The host is supposed to work out on any elaborate plans upon consideration of the guest and purpose. The guests are expected to respond to the host with expressing (not always verbally) sympathy and gratitude. And then, the response of the guests gives the host the further pleasure. In this case, both host and guest create the "delight of participants" together.

Second, in Japanese banquet, they follow unwritten rules and "kata" to enhance the value of the occasion. Here "delight" is not extra surprise or unpredictable quality, surpassing the expectation on the party of customers. In a banquet, host and guest can experience delight even without any unique event (surprise) along process of shared script. Why could they experience delight with "kata"? It is difficult to answer in this short article (and the expertise in the field of cultural psychology probably needed), but I suggest three possibilities as related to the discussion of omotenashi; (1) for them, the ability to follow the "kata" is connected to shared education and shared sensibility. (2) when they follow the "kata", they read the air and understand each other's feelings. For example, in *The Tale of Genji*, there are some scenes where participants shed tears as they imagine if the deceased father (of a participant) were present, how impressed he would be. (3) on the basis of "kata", sometimes the host intentionally break the routine with subtle change—so subtle that careless guests easily overlook. And in this point, he expresses his own messages. In this point, the guests are expected to have a high level of education or

knowledge of “kata.” They should read the message of the host, and feel pleasure to understand his intention.

Delight can be realized when host works out on any elaborate plans based on the common cultivation and guest responds to what the host presents. In other words, it can be confirmed that common platform can be shared by the respective actions (to follow the *kata*). There is no arrow presented by one way either from host to guest or guest to host.

Regarding the mechanism of value creation in Japanese banquet, there is another important element to point out. Host and guests share the sensibility based on the education. In other words, they could express their right emotions in the proper way. For example, in *The Tale of Genji*, main characters including Genji and Murasaki completely understand the way of “being moved.” They are required to know when they should be moved; at the sight of a dew on the grass, or the beautiful scene. Sometimes, it is related to a scene described in canonical classical literature. In this situation, they are supposed to remember some character in the literary work at a particular sight, and to be moved. Moreover, they are required to know how to express their feelings; to be in tears properly. Too much tears are to be avoided, even if they have reasons to cry. They should hide their emotions; and the other party should understand the hidden emotions. In *The Tale of Genji*, the sight of a woman’s being in tears properly impresses Genji, as it shows her education and class. Management of sensibility was one of the requisite qualifications for participants of the banquet. With shared sensibility, participants collaborated to enhance the value of the “ba” on the whole.

Banquet in the novels of Jane Austen

I would take up novels of Jane Austen for a comparison hereafter. Jane Austen is female author who was active on end of the 18th century to beginning of the 19th century. Her long novels which set in routines and love romances in upper class people have been evaluated as best English novels in the light of descriptions of characteristics in English smartly. She is also well-known as an author of novels Drucker preferred to read.

Austen’s works often depict scenes of official banquets. She was very familiar with manners and rules of sociability since herself was from upper class. She exceeded the other authors in English literature in the light of exact and accurate depiction in detail for the banquets in English upper-class people at that time. “Correct actions” of the characters are emphasized in the banquets in Austen’s novels. In *The Tale*

of *Genji*, suitability of the behaviors of the character is considered in the light of common education and sensibility for the occasion. On the other hand, in Austen's banquets, rules are emphasized according to social status or hierarchy of the characters. While rule of the occasion might be changed from time to time in case of *The Tale of Genji*, it is a fixed and absolute rule for Austen. For her characters, rules are indispensable to socialize each other smoothly. And here the manner is taken as correct norm of action and Austen makes no specific mention of what feelings to have or how to express them.

Experiential Values of Banquet

Then, I would consider the values of participating of the banquet described in Austen's works. First, the value for the host may be understood as follows; to display financial power, to show off social connections, to make appeal as a suitable member of upper-class society (it is like a kind of examination whether she/he behaves in the right way), and to be satisfied with capability of holding splendid party.

On the party of the guests, the values of the banquet are as follows: to find lucrative marriage partner, to call attention to herself / himself, to be satisfied for self-esteem with proper treatment, to display financial power, to present dancing skill, to display suitability as member of the community, to obtain more lucrative connections, to find any tools to go up to higher hierarchy, to keep up with any information including rumor, and to checkup whether any unsuitable member is there or not in the community. Each participant gets together at the banquet with his / her own purpose to achieve it respectively.

Therefore, the total value of the banquet is determined by each participant's satisfaction and/or gain. Namely, the value of the banquet on the whole is a simple aggregate amount of the participants' value in the sense of that how much own purpose can be realized. Even if the banquet ends in failure, it will be a success for a participant whose purpose has been realized, for example, to find a good partner. If the banquet ends in success, it may be a misery for a participant whose purpose remains unfulfilled.

In contrast, Japanese-style banquet tend to take the total value prior to anything else. In the event that the total value may be enhanced, that is, the banquet can be succeeded in its fun consequently, the individual person who participates in the banquet may be satisfied and the value of participation may be greater. Therefore, the participants voluntarily cooperate to enliven the atmosphere and improve the value of the "ba".

The values created in each banquet are described in the following figures (figure4-5 and figure 4-6).

Figure 4-5 Value created in Genji banquet

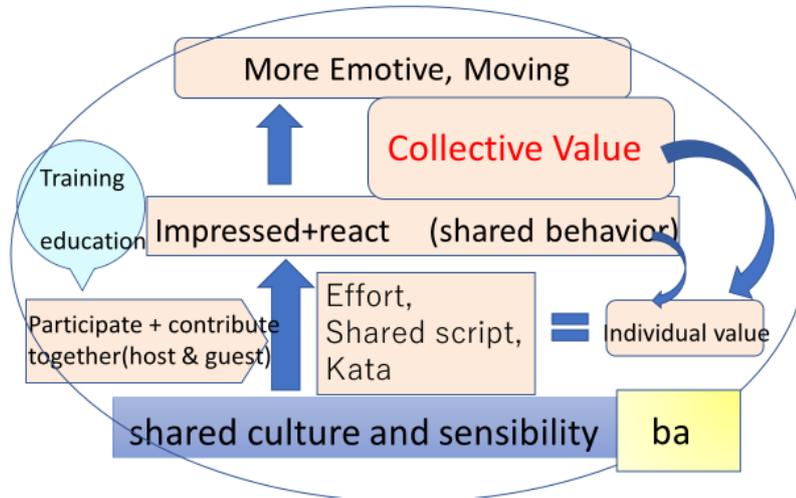
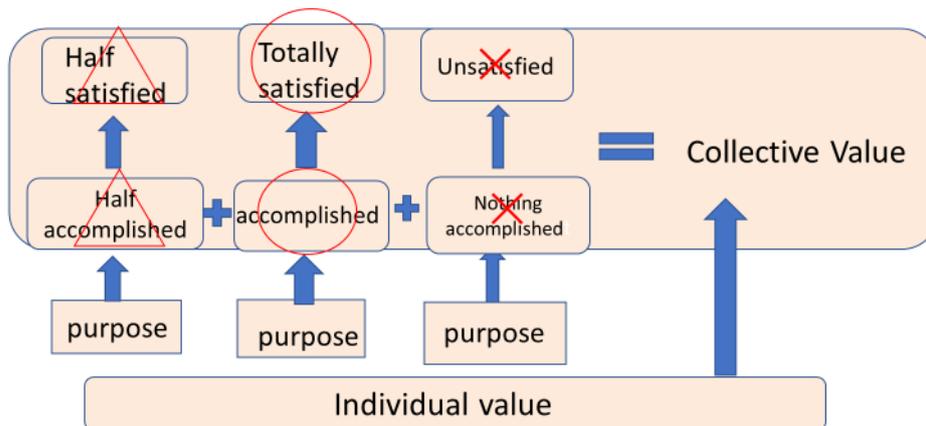


Figure 4-6 Values created in Austen-style Banquet



In the banquet of *The Tale of Genji*, all participants (including the host) enjoy the occasion based on their common cultivations. They express the right emotions properly, and voluntarily contribute to enhancing the value of “ba,” as the total value of “ba” should be prior to anything else. If they feel they have played a role to enliven the atmosphere, they are more pleased, and delighted. In contrast, in Jane Austen’s banquet, each person has his / her purpose to realize. The guests get satisfied and delighted according to the degrees of the achievements of purposes. For them, individual value is prior to anything else.

As to the relationship between host and guest, in the banquet in *The Tale of Genji* are not unilateral and its guest has got together to enjoy delight as one. In case of Austen's banquets, the host and their guests were positioned as one-to-one and there were explicit lines between the host to hold the banquet and the guests to enjoy it. The latter is to be "delighted" and the former to provide delight. The guests were not required to interpret intentions of the hosts positively.

In addition, in Austen's banquet, routine or something similar to "kata" is not appreciated. In the novels of Austen, a style is considered to observe fixed rules like manners and orders and it is a kind of obligation. As a matter of fact, Austen said it is a "boredom" in her diary.

What is based on omotenashi

Co-creation of value in omotenashi lies in exchanging positions of host and its guest alternatively and in enhancing together the value of the occasion. It is assumed that the all participants there on the occasion should have common value and sensibility based on common cultivations.

In the Japanese style omotenashi, a certain kind of education should be required so that guest can be delighted "correctly"; it is not innate ability. The importance of education is shown in the descriptions and scenes of *The Tale of Genji*, where an imperial princess says "I don't see any difference... Flowers look always same." Despite being born in highest class, she has neither proper education nor sensibility to behave correctly in the relationship with others.

It is worth repeating that to participate in the occasion based on common cultivation, sense of values and script, and experience feeling as it should be there (without giving it from someone to the others), that is the basis of Japanese omotenashi. Guest may read subtle wish of its host without its own immediate profit. That is the time when the guest can be delighted. When the delight may be expressed, the host can be moved its heart. Those feelings which are generated by moving of the hearts with the each other can let the occasion enhanced worthy. Those cycles must be basis and core to realize omotenashi.

V Omotenashi in the *Renga* Gatherings

1 Omotenashi in the Renga Gatherings in Comparison with the *Manyo* Banquets

1-1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to compare the characteristics of banquets in the era of *Manyo-shu* from whence the Japanese concept of omotenashi originated (Aishima and Sato, 2015) with those of *renga* which were popular in subsequent periods. The analysis led to several interesting findings.

As instances of omotenashi the two types of banquet are similar in several important ways. One of the important conclusions clarified in this chapter is that while both the hosts and the guests in these banquets had individual purposes (mainly, political purposes), such personal purposes were prioritized below the collective purpose of enlivening the atmosphere. The second conclusion is that between the banquets in *Manyo-shu* and *renga* gatherings, certain changes occurred in regard to the nature of enjoyment. In *Manyo* banquets, the participants enlivened the atmosphere by following a rigid ceremony. By contrast, in *renga* gatherings, participants produced phrase as part of a game. In order to enjoy *renga* gatherings, participants had to have three intellectual abilities. The third conclusion is that *renga* gatherings were attended by *renga* masters, who were the professionally tasked with enlivening such gatherings. *Renga* masters might be called the first managers of omotenashi.

This chapter is organized as follows. In Sections 1-2 and 1-3, I would introduce the history and characteristics of *renga* gatherings in comparison with *Manyo* banquets. In Section 1-4, the evolution of *renga* gatherings and the features they exhibited, that were not found in previous banquets are analyzed. Finally, in Section 1-5 the conclusion of this chapter is shown.

1-2 The History of *Renga*

1-2-1 What are *Renga*?

Renga comprised a popular literary genre for 900 years, from the end of the Heian period to the Edo period. In this time, *renga* were equally enjoyed by emperors, peers, warriors, and priests, all the way down to merchants and commoners.

Basically, *renga* are chains of short poems (*waka*). They consist of two or more phases composed collaboratively by several people in turns. The first person begins with a poem in the 5-7-5 syllabic

pattern(a), the next person responds with a poem in 7-7 syllabic pattern(b). A third person adds 5-7-5 syllables(a') to the previous 7-7 syllable poem(b), and is followed by a fourth person, who adds a 7-7 syllable poem (b') to the previous one. Participants were supposed to contribute through reciprocal cooperation to the completion of a long poem with some coherence, by following the complicated and rigid rules for *renga*. While *waka* is composed by individuals, gatherings of people were required to enjoy *renga*.

From the Muromachi period to the Azuchi-Momoyama period, *renga* were popular irrespective of titles, occupations, and social positions. These were times of political conflicts and disturbances, in which aristocrats and warriors collaborated and made use of each other to gain powers. *Renga* was one of the most useful tools to become familiar with people who were otherwise inaccessible. People often met and discussed political matters under the pretext of *renga* gathering.

In addition, it is important to remember that in the Muromachi period, generally called the period of gatherings of people, horizontal relations were much stronger than in previous times. Aristocrats, warriors and commoners enjoyed *renga* parties, both as hosts and guests. In most cases, since *renga* gatherings lasted for more than six hours, they naturally shared the long hours together in rather small rooms.

The popularity of *renga* among commoners can be seen in *rakugo*, though it began to decline in the Edo period (Watanuki, 2014, pp. 181-82).

1-2-2 History of *Renga*

This section provides an overview, in several phases of the history of *renga*. In the Heian period, *renga* won recognition as comprising a literary genre separate from *waka*. Poets created *renga* extemporaneously as their avocation or hobby. *Renga* concerned personal relations. Concretely, the amusement factor was one of the greatest attractions of *renga* in the period. Participants were expected to respond to others' witty phrases smartly and humorously.

Early in the Kamakura period when the warriors obtained political power, the aristocracy remained the center of culture. The former emperor Gotoba loved *renga*, so noble poets in the court enjoyed *renga*. Warriors who enjoyed *renga* were accepted as attempting to acquire the tastes of nobility. In this phase, as the chains of *renga* became longer, the fun of joining the *renga* gatherings as entertainment became deeper and greater.

At certain times, *renga* contests featuring two teams were enjoyed. Because *renga* had become a highly intellectual game, there appeared professional *renga* masters, who taught novices how to create good

renga and run gatherings smoothly.

In the Nambokucho period, *renga* was transformed from a literary genre of comical wit to the main stream of Japanese literature. It became natural for warriors to join *renga* gatherings. The credit for the establishment of *renga* goes to Nijo Yoshimoto, one of the most influential people in the political and cultural scene, who helped give authority to *renga*. He was recognized as the leading expert of *renga*, and consequently, as the undisputedly best-educated person of the age. At the same time, through *renga* activity, he achieved useful connections with non-aristocratic power, namely, with warriors and priests (Watanuki, 2006. pp. 104-05).

Nijo Yoshimoto was responsible for editing *Tsukuba-shu*, the first formal anthology of *renga*. Since it was authorized as a semi-imperial production by his efforts and maneuvers, *renga* assumed a position on par with *waka*. In subsequent books, he clarified rules and manners, explained the history of *renga*, especially its alleged relationship with *Tenjin shinko*, or the worship of Tenjin, the god of the shogunate family and showed ideal *renga*, which comprehensively contributed to the improvement of the quality of *renga*.

In the Muromachi period, when the bakufu was located in Kyoto, warriors had lots of opportunities to become exposed to aristocratic culture and customs. Warriors enjoyed *renga* gatherings in order to build and maintain networks. Some *renga* masters had connections with aristocrats and warriors, and were in charge of managing *renga* gatherings performed for the shogunate family, they also traveled throughout the country to teach *renga* to local daimyo.

1-2-3 End of the *Renga* Age

In the Edo period, *renga* masters became gradually focused on running gatherings that had been ritualized as ceremonies, including those held by the *bakufu*. The Satomura family, one of the leading *renga* master families, was responsible for the operation of the gatherings, by which it made income. At these gatherings, almost all of the important phrases, for instance, the first (the *hokku*, in the 5-7-5 syllabic pattern) and second (the *wakiku*, in the 7-7 syllabic pattern) phrases were prepared in advance by the Satomura family. At such events, there were also planned banquets.

Operating *renga* ceremonies became the main business of *renga* masters. The fact that *renga* gatherings were thoroughly ritualized and thus had lost substances made them fall into decay. The reasons for the decline of *renga* are as follows: (1) the loss of improvisation, the essence of *renga*; (2) the ritualization of *renga* gatherings as state ceremonies featuring *renga* masters as mere MCs; (3) the decline

in the necessity of discriminating between friends and foes, as the Edo *bakufu* seized control and put an end to continuous wars and conflicts; and (4) the problem of the extensive amount of time such gatherings required. The role that was formerly played by *renga* gatherings was subsumed by the *chanoyu*.

1-3 Characteristics of *Renga* Gatherings

1-3-1 Characteristics of *Renga* as a Literary Genre

The characteristics of *renga* are as follows. First, *renga* poems were governed by complicated rules, which regulated the style in which phrases could be added according to the order of members; many expressions were prohibited. Secondly, *renga* required a shared culture of creating good phrases. Third, the quality of the work of *renga* as a whole took precedence over the quality of the individual phrases.

The banquets of *Manyo-shu* and *renga* gatherings differed in several ways. First, in *renga*, there were written rules and standards. Secondly, for *renga*, there were textbooks or handbooks of necessary common classical knowledge. Third, while in the *Manyo* banquets poems were separated and could be understood in and of themselves, *renga* phrases had no meaning without context. Consequently, in *renga* gatherings horizontal relationships were essential. The third point is particularly important in considering the characteristics of *renga* gatherings.

In the *Manyo* banquets, horizontal relationships and solidarity were comparatively weak. They were founded on vertical relationships: emperors or persons higher in rank invited their followers to such banquets. By contrast, *renga* gatherings exhibited many aspects of horizontal solidarity. In villages, common people regularly had meetings to discuss problems related to bad crops, and measures for repairing damage by wars. Frequent changes in the central government helped weaken vertical relationship.

Generally, the Muromachi period is called the age of gathering. In this period, self-governing village organizations and trade associations appeared, leading to a strengthening of horizontal solidarity. Against this background, *renga* flourished in the Muromachi period.

Hiroki (2006, p.101) argued that “words that describe the relationship between peoples-- assembly or gathering--are often associated with Japanese medieval period. In such social circumstances, it is nearly impossible to deny the connection between *renga* gatherings and political assembly. In this conception, *renga* could be called the literature of medieval period (Sakurai, 2009, pp. 177-85; Matsuoka, 2015, pp. 149, 156-58),

There is another factor in the strong horizontal relationship of *renga*. In *Manyo-shu*, it is true that the poems can be appreciated more deeply in sequence, but each poem can be understood in itself. One poem exists independent of other poems, and recognized is a literary piece.

On the other hand, though *renga* shared the same syllabic pattern, 5-7-5-7-7, they could not be separated out of the whole sequence. Their true meaning is totally dependent on the context.

1-3-2 Physical Characteristics of *Renga* Gathering

At *renga* gatherings, about 10 people sit in a small room for six to eight hours. Occasionally these gatherings lasted overnight. In many cases, regular monthly gatherings were held. It is natural that people made the most of the *renga* gatherings to build and maintain community and affirm the shared values. Such meetings were also useful for their nominal, more serious purpose as (political) meetings (Watanuki, 2006, pp. 42-46; Watanuki, 2014, pp.52-54).

1-3-3 Process of *Renga* Gatherings

In this section, the concrete, typical process involved in *renga* gatherings, in the Muromachi period and the Azuchi-Momoyama period, is described. Aristocrats, warriors, and commoners had different purposes for holding *renga* gatherings.

For aristocrats, the main purposes of holding *renga* gatherings were to affirm the meaning of life by making full use of their knowledge of classical literature, and to maintain their level of culture. In addition, they held *renga* gatherings to acquire connections with powerful warrior families.

For warriors, the main purposes of holding *renga* gatherings were to acquire connections with aristocrats, and gain access to the court. In a time in which conflicts, wars and conspiracies between clans as well as within families were constant, warriors had to discriminate between friends and foes. They attempted to affirm solidarity and collect information at such gatherings. They also used *renga* gatherings to learn about classical tradition and enhance their reputations. In those days, both warriors and aristocrats had help each other to survive irrespective of their class.

At *renga* gatherings, it was necessary to lead many participants for many hours to forge unity. For this purpose, there were *renga* masters who helped participants make better phrases, gave comments, and evaluated proposed phrases. They made efforts to ensure that gatherings proceeded smoothly and that participants could enjoy themselves. In addition, the *renga* masters instructed amateurs regarding how to create *renga*, and taught people the necessary literary knowledge. They also served as negotiators and liaisons between warriors and aristocrats. Thanks to *renga* masters, even ordinary people became familiar

with masterpieces (Watanuki, 2014, pp. 57-62).

Renga gatherings proceeded along by a typical process. First, the host chose the participants and the place and asked an organizer and *renga* master for their help. The main guest tasked with creating the first phrase was appointed in advance. The host and organizer properly arranged the facilities, decorations, food and drink (Ichiji, 1967, pp. 61-75).

The gathering itself began when the main guest created the first phrase. The first phrase had to be appropriate to the situation, follow intriguing and particular rules, and exhibit feelings regarding the season. The host created the second phrase as greeting. It was supposed to stand out; rather, the second phrase was supposed to highlight the first one. The third phrase was also difficult to create; the person was required to change the poetic scenery created by the first two phrases. From the fourth on, the members were supposed to add intelligent phrases by reading the atmosphere and following strict rules. They were forbidden from repeating the previous expressions or staying within the same scene. They were required to attempt to develop the poetic world while showing respect to phrases created by other people (Watanuki, 2006, pp. 58-68, 71-84).

The enjoyment of *renga* gatherings exhibited several features. First, participants had to have enough knowledge of the strict rules of *renga* in order to enjoy it: they had to understand their roles according to the order of the seats and social positions. For instance, important words such as moon or flower (namely, cherry blossoms) could only be used by people of high social position. Secondly, people were required to make phrases that appreciated the mood and context. Each person was required to attempt to make phrases with a consideration of the context and the unity of the whole (Hiroki, 2006, pp. 27-45). Thirdly, they were required to value team work as they had to keep on adding phrases for many hours. In other words, at *renga* gatherings, the skill to make phrases while reading the intricate human relationships at such gatherings was prioritized over the purely artistic crafting of elaborate phrases.

1-3-4 Values of *Renga* Gatherings According to Position and Status

This section discusses the benefits—namely, the value of holding or joining the *renga* gatherings (Hiroki, 2006, pp. 121-128).

First, what are the benefits to the host? He chooses the place, prepares utensils, sends invitations to guests, and prepares the tea, food and drinks according to the participants' taste. On the day, he greets them and supports the progress of the gathering modestly from the lowest seat. For the host, having a *renga* gathering has value in the following ways: (1) the gathering can proceed smoothly, (2) the gathering

can become lively, and (3) each participant can feel satisfied with the gathering

Second, the participants are expected to enjoy the occasion while minding their manners and the rules. Thus, for them, joining *renga* gathering has value in the following ways: (1) the phrases of their own making can be highly acclaimed, (2) they can acquire a reputation by showing their taste and culture, (3) they can improve their *renga* skills, (4) they can deepen their relationships with others, (5) they can enjoy a meal, and (6) they can express their loyalty to the host.

Third, for the *renga* master, attending *renga* gathering has values in the following ways: (1) he can complete a refined *renga* sequence, (2) the participants can enjoy *renga* together, (3) the host can feel pleased with the gathering (as the *renga* masters receive rewards for their efforts at the gathering), and (4) they can build connections.

Fourth, there is a secretary for the *renga* master. Along with certain ritual performances, he plays an important role; he helps evaluate each phrase based on the rule and he is required to grasp the relationships among them to ensure the progress of the gathering. For him, attending *renga* gathering has values in the following ways: (1) he can enliven the mood of the gathering, (2) he can help the participants follow the rules, and (3) he can gain chances for promotion in the *renga* world.

The remainder of this section describes the values and roles of *renga* gatherings for various kinds of host, within the context of the political conflict.

When the gathering is held by the emperor or ex-emperor, whose powers and authority were completely weakened, the main purposes for the host are to urge the aristocrats to meet him at the court, to ascertain or test their loyalty, and to confirm their unity. On the other hand, for the aristocrats who participated in such gatherings, attending the purposes of showing their loyalty, affirming relationships with other participants, and gaining connections to other members of nobility and warriors.

The shogun held gatherings to demonstrate his influence and financial power, to affirm unity, to test loyalty, to show his culture, and to pray for success. To the participants attended such gatherings to indicate their loyalty, to affirm relationships with other participants, to gain connections for promotion, and to obtain classical knowledge.

Warriors held gatherings in which both warriors and aristocrats could participate. Warriors hosted such gatherings to demonstrate their refined taste for classical literature, to show their connections with the aristocrats, to enhance their reputation by announcing the fact that they are the students of a famous master, to affirm shared values and unity, and to collect information on the political situation in other areas.

Participants in such gatherings attended to displays their shared culture, to win fame by creating intelligent phrases, to affirm values shared with others, to deepen relationships with other participants, to gain and maintain connections, and to learn classical knowledge.

Aristocrats also held gatherings in which both warriors and the aristocrats could participate. Aristocrats hosted such gatherings to display their authority and noble taste, to exhibit their knowledge of traditional codes, to build connections with warriors, and to discriminate between friends and foes. Participants in such gatherings attended to obtain connections with both warriors and aristocrats, to affirm common values, to show their culture, and assert unity: warriors attended to obtain classical knowledge.

Hosts who were not warriors or aristocrats held gatherings to deepen human relationships, to show their influence, to display their culture, to entertain participants after a serious meeting, and to show their *omotenashi* to participants. Participants in such gatherings attended to express their sense of belonging, to affirm shared values, to improve *renga* skill of *renga*, to follow fashion, to strengthen human relationships, to learn, and to enjoy meals.

During that period, there were *Hanano-shita-renga*, or *renga* gatherings under cherry blossoms, which the emperor allowed commoners to join. For the host, one of the main pros of having such a gathering was to demonstrate a peaceful and satisfying atmosphere. For the participants including the audience, attended to enjoy and to display their skill for *renga* (Watanuki, 2006, pp. 98-100).

In comparison with the banquets in *Manyo-shu*, *renga* gatherings were more for political purposes between different classes. Since it was a period of constant conflicts, people had to discriminate continuously between friends and foes. In certain gathering people would dare to add a phrase suggesting plotting a rebellion, to test others response (Hiroki, 2006, pp. 13-19). As explained above, *renga* had standard rule that makes it possible for warriors in different areas to enjoy meeting together. Notably *renga* gathering has symbolic value pertaining to status. Lists of ranking “men of culture” were produced in the Muromachi period, on all but one, Nijo Yoshimoto, the leader of *renga*, was given the highest rank (Watanuki, 2006, p. 50).

In following section, the authors will compare the *renga* gatherings with the banquets in *Man-yo-shu*.

1-4 Analysis of *Renga* Gatherings in Comparison with Banquets in *Manyo-shu*

1-4-1 Change in the Characteristics of Banquets

One of the most distinctive differences between the banquets in *Manyo-shu* and *renga* gatherings

relates to change in characteristics. In the *Manyo* period, banquets progressed as follows: (1) both by host and main guest made greetings, (2) guests praised the hos, (3) everyone made poems appropriate for the purpose and according to the ingenious plan prepared by the host, (4) some joking poems were read or old songs sung to enliven the atmosphere, and (5) the host and guests engaged in the farewell exchange (Aishima and Sato, 2015). Thus, vertical relationships between the host and guests were central to the banquets in *Manyo-shu*,

By contrast, in *renga* gatherings, the emphasis was on horizontal relationships: there are two relevant points in this regard. First, *renga* gatherings were often called “places of *renga* “(“*za* of *renga*”). In this point, Hiroki (2006, p.101) explains to the effects as follows: “[I]t is true that the word “*za*” refers merely to the seats where people gather, but in the Japanese medieval period, it suggested some exclusive and privileged group such as a trade union. In this sense, it is proper to call *renga* the literature of *za*.” Secondly, in *renga* gatherings, people placed substantial importance on team work. It is necessary for all participants to add good phrases suitable for the development of the sequence.

Consequently, in *renga* gatherings, people with a shared culture enjoy *renga* as a team and deepen their mutual friendship. By contrast, in the *Manyo* period, banquets progressed according to a ceremonial logic and participants were made aware of the hierarchal relationship among them. Participants attended for the purpose of expressing their loyalties to the host.

1-4-2 Development of Abilities to Enliven the Atmosphere

The second difference between banquets in *Manyo-shu* and the *renga* gatherings relates to abilities to enliven the atmosphere. In the *Manyo* banquets, enlivening the atmosphere was necessary, but the contents and poems were definitively prescribed by phases. In this sense, it may be said that in *Manyo* banquets it was easier to read the atmosphere and to create proper poems than in *renga* gatherings.

In *renga* gatherings, participants were required to produce phrases that would constitute smooth and natural poetic development in the context of the poem as well as respond intelligently to the previous phrases. Superlative ability was required to join *renga* gatherings, as the process of creating phrases was repeated 100 times. Participating in *renga* required highly refined skills in three aspects.

First, the participants had to have high level knowledges of classical culture such as of *The Tale of Genji* and *Shin-Kokin Wakashu*. Kadochi(1995, p.5) points out that “the artistic technique of *honka-dori* was popular among the participants as basic knowledge. People made the most of their knowledge of classical literature, including *The Tale of Genji*, in producing *renga* phrases. They believed that it was

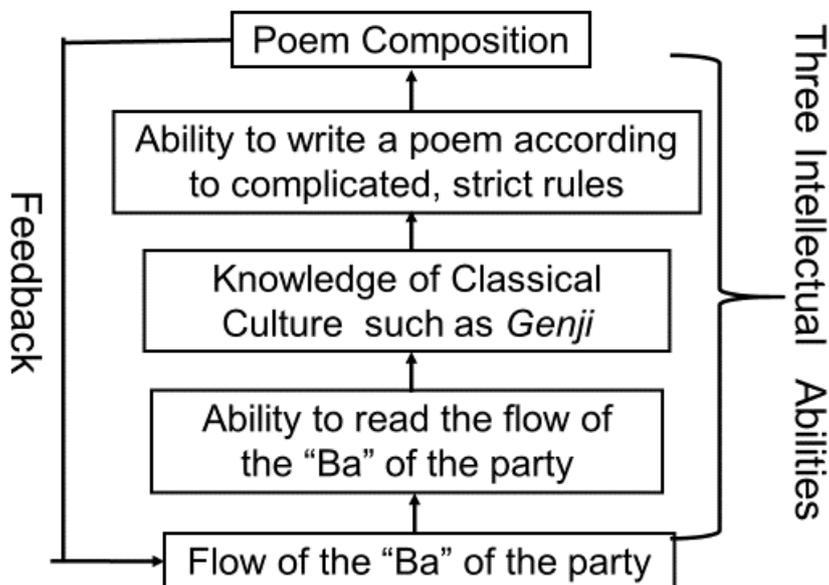
necessary to partially obscure their own basic knowledge so as not to show off.”

Secondly, it was crucial for the participants to have the skill to accurately read the poetic development of the *renga* sequences and to produce new phrases to enliven the atmosphere. Kadochi(1995, p.5) points out that “[I]n the *renga* gathering, it was more detestable to stand out than to go astray of the rules. If a phrase attracted attention, it could break the stream of *renga* as a whole. It was taken as an act of destroying the poetic world the participants had supported. To stand out against the stream was considered nothing more than an exhibition of vulgar taste. It is most important for the participants to connect the poetic pieces and let the stream of *renga* run naturally. To disturb the stream was to deny the *renga* world itself.”

Thirdly, the participants had to have the ability to understand the flow of the atmosphere, and to produce proper phrases without fail, in accordance with the complicated and rigid rules of *renga*. They were expected to improve their abilities through deliberate practice—through intensive, severe, and repetitive training. Based on the study of practice by world-class pianists, chess player, and athletes, Ericsson (2006) argued that it is necessary for individuals to continue learning cycles and spirals to continuously improve their performance. Practice consists of four phases: active experimentation, concrete experience, reflective observation, and abstract conceptualization. People must repeat the learning cycle tirelessly in order to improve their skills to the world class level. Ericsson also proved that it would take more than 10,000 hours of deliberate practice to become a top-ranking performers. His theory could be applied to *renga*. At *renga* gatherings, there were *renga* masters who gave the participants comments and advice, which helped promote deliberate practice among them.

In sum, the participants were required to have three abilities and skills to enjoy the *renga* gatherings: (1) a high level knowledge of intellectual culture, acquired through lectures and advice given by *renga* masters, (2) the ability to accurately read the flow of the *renga* sequence, based on the adaptive expertise to make correct judgments with changes in situation (Hatano and Inagaki, 2005), and (3) the ability to produce proper phrases suitable to the flow of the atmosphere and in accordance with the complicated rules of *renga*. It can be said that these abilities required routine expertise to enable participants to solve familiar problems quickly and to give correct and prompt answers to phrases (Hatano and Inagaki, 2005). All of these abilities required development through deliberate practice in the experimentation cycle. (figure 5-1)

Figure 5-1 Three Intellectual Abilities Necessary to Enjoy *Renga*



1-4-3 Entrance of *Renga* Masters

Unlike in the *Manyo* banquets, *renga* gatherings featured professional *renga* masters. *Renga* masters appeared as the rules of *renga* became more and more rigid and complicated. As explained before, *renga* masters played various roles among other roles, they spread *renga* and improved its quality.

For instance, in the Muromachi period, the shogun placed *bakufu* in Kyoto. As a result, warriors became familiar with noble culture, and frequently held *renga* gatherings. *Renga* masters acquired connections with warriors and aristocrats. Some of them were entrusted to operate *renga* gatherings including for the Muromachi *bakufu*. Some traveled around the country and visited daimyo in remote areas to teach the practice of *renga*, and others were employed by men of influence. Subsequently, *renga* masters assumed a higher position as well as higher income; they came to occupy an important political position, connecting centralized power, aristocrats, and warriors in remote areas.

As their social position was enhanced and the fad of *renga* spread throughout the country, famous *renga* masters appeared. In particular, during the reign of Ashikaga Yoshinori, there were the Seven Sages of *renga*, including Sozei, Shinkei, Gyojo, and No-ami. During those years *renga* masters had pedigrees and a hereditary system.

Given the characteristics of *renga* masters' social position, so-called "brand communities" formed. The development and selling of club goods came later in the time of Sen-no-Rikyu, who established

chanoyu.

1-3-4 Penetration of *Renga* Gatherings into Various Classes

While the *Manyo* banquets were closed open only to the emperor and nobility, *renga* gatherings were popular among commoners and were not exclusive to the upper class. It is *renga* masters that promoted the penetration of *renga* in various strata. Watanuki (2006, pp. 131-41) gave an explanation of this situation that is a paraphrased as follows.

Renga, which developed as a casual amusement associated with *waka*, gradually overcame *waka* and spread quickly. From the Heian period to the Kamakura period, aristocrats enjoyed *renga*. In the Namboku-cho period, it became popular among commoners. Some top-level *renga* masters who performed actively among common people were even known to nobility. Nijo Yoshimoto appreciated Zen-a, a *renga* master representative of those who performed actively among commoners. Gusai, a disciple of Zen-a, enhanced the value of *renga* among commoners, compiled the first anthology of *renga* with Nijo Yoshimoto, and prescribed the rules of *renga*.

As the tastes in *renga* were enhanced among commoners and became noble and refined, the two completely different schools of *renga* masters—*renga* masters active among the nobility and those active among commoners began to interact with each other, to form a foundation for an orthodox school of *renga* in the Muromachi period. As shown evidenced by Sasaki Doyo, one of the *basara* daimyo who participated in compiling *the Tsukuba shu*, *renga* were popular among warriors. Some became famous as *renga* masters. After the *Oonin War* Sogi advocated for the orthodox school of *renga*, enhancing comic *renga* among commoners to an aesthetic art. He also compiled a new anthology of *renga*, including that included “*Minase Sanngin Hyakuin*,” one of the major sequences of the orthodox school of *renga*.

These situations show not only the trickle-down effect of fashion but also the “trickle-up” phenomenon its reverse. When culture trickles down it diffuses like raindrops from the upper class to the middle class, and down to common people (Sato, 1993). It is interesting that, in the history of *renga* development, Gusai and his colleagues refined the *renga* popular among commoners, giving a a new *renga* fad among the upper class.

V Conclusion

This chapter clarifies some characteristics of *renga* gatherings in comparison with *Manyo* banquets. First, *renga* had rigid and complicated rule; participants enjoyed the occasion as a highly intellectual

game, together with *renga* masters who were in charge of gatherings as well as teams. Secondly, to enjoy *renga*, three intellectual abilities were necessary: participants had to have a high-level knowledge of high culture, the ability to read the flow of the atmosphere, and the ability to produce phrases suitable to the natural development of the atmosphere in accordance with rigid and difficult rules. Furthermore, these abilities required development through deliberate, repetitive, continuous practice in the experiential learning cycle. Thirdly, the emergence and role played by *renga* masters in charge of operating *renga* gatherings were examined.

Comparing the *Manyo* banquets and the *renga* gatherings as the origin of Japanese concept of *omotenashi*, they exhibit commonalities: both required participants to enliven the atmosphere of *ba* collaboratively with others, and to engage in efforts to improve their skills and abilities. *Renga* masters played a crucial role in dramatically raising the intellectual standard among common people.

Along with *renga*, other literary arts also contributed to enhancing the educational level of common people in the period. Various kinds of cultural entertainment and literature penetrated the three strata of aristocrats, warriors and commoners. Regarding this point, Watanabe (1999, pp. 311-12) explains as follows:

In the Muromachi period, *dengaku* and *sarugaku* like *renga* and tea gathering were popular. *Renga* and tea gatherings were initiated among the nobility, but came to be enjoyed by daimyo, aristocrats and priests subsequently. They spread among warriors and commoners. *Renga* in particular were one of the most popular entertainments in which even commoners could participate, for example in *Hanano-shita-renga*, as tea drinking became popular in the form of tea contests and tea gatherings, which were in some cases held alongside *renga* gatherings.

In contrast, *sarugaku* were originally entertainment performed at shrines. *Sarugaku* emerged from the native world, together with *dengaku*, and developed as it was taken up by the aristocracy. Not limited to *renga*, tea gatherings, *sarugaku* and *dengaku*, this pattern can also be found in the *Noh*, *kyogen*, *ko*, and flower arranging which survive today as traditional entertainment in Japan.

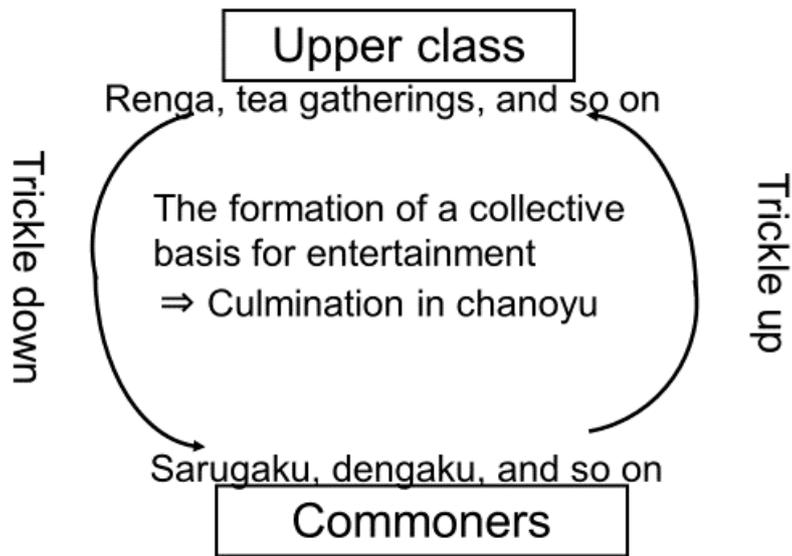
In previous periods the nobility and commoners did not enjoy the same entertainment irrespective of gaps in the social strata, *renga*, tea gatherings, *sarugaku*, *dengaku*, flower arrangement and *ko* are entertainments that are premised on people gathering in the place they are performed. They became cultural entertainments enjoyed freely and fully, founded in the lives of commoners and separate from religious occasions.

Watanabe (1999, pp. 320) continues as follows:

“In the savage atmosphere of the war period, Sakai was a city visited by aristocrats, warriors, priests, *renga* masters, tea masters, and painters. For men of culture who took refuge from a Kyoto severely damaged in the Oonin war, Sakai was safe home. In November 1483, Kiko Daishuku, a high priest moved from Kyoto to Sakai. He enjoyed friendships with people of refined culture, and often held *renga* gatherings, poetic gatherings, and cultural talks with warriors, priests, wealthy merchants and common people in the neighborhood. This inspired and encouraged many people, and finally led to the foundation of *cha-no-yu*, the direct origin of the Japanese concept of *omotenashi*. The *wabi cha-no-yu* created by Murata Juko was then completed by Senno Rikyu.

Figure2 shows the evolution and fusion of the classical performing arts of Japan during this era.

Figure 5-2 Characteristics of the development of the Japanese traditional arts



2 *Mitate* Which Determines the Customer Value

2-1 What is *Mitate*?

In this chapter, I deal with *mitate*, a literary technique which has been popular among people from the Nara period through today. Before moving on to the definition, I would emphasize the significance of discussing *mitate* in the context of *omotenahi*. Firstly, *mitate* is a symbol of sharing context with one another, not within a particular circle, to improve the value of creation. Secondly, it requires a high level of education to understand and enjoy *mitate*. In being exposed to practicing *mitate* daily unconsciously, people are able to learn canonical education, which is necessary to enhance the customer value in *omotenashi*. In the sense, it is possible to say *mitate* is a teaching material for commoners. It is the knowledge and practice of *mitate* which spread with the popularity of *renga* gathering that helped common people share high culture and education. One of the reasons why Japanese enjoy *omotenashi* that requires education could be seen in the *renga* training of *mitate*.

2-1-1 Definition of *Mitate*

Simply put, *mitate* means viewing allegorically A (a certain item) as a stand-in for another item B. The easiest example would probably be the dry landscaping features in a Japanese garden. The white rocks and sand are arranged to represent flowing water, and we are supposed to view and experience them not as rocks and sand but rather as flowing water. The paper fan and small cloth used in *rakugo* performances are also *mitate*-style allegories. Depending on the situation, the fan is sometimes used to represent chopsticks or a pipe, and the cloth can be used for a document or a money pouch.

Mitate is a traditional expressive skill that has been in use since ancient times, and even now, it is recognized on a daily basis in a variety of different genres. A common example is presenting a raw egg as an allegory for the moon. In Japanese culture, the dish “*tsukimi udon* (moon-viewing buckwheat noodles)” is understood to be “noodles topped with a raw egg (in its natural egg shape).” The “*tsukimi burger* (moon-viewing hamburger)” is a standard item at McDonald’s during autumn. Even though eggs are a year-round product, someone familiar with Japanese culture could easily understand that *tsukimi* burgers are only available during autumn. In the dish “*yukimi nabe* (snow-viewing hot pot),” grated radish is presented as an allegory for “snow.” *Somen* (a type of fine white noodles) are originally an allegory for mountain streams,

and you are expected to enjoy coolness as though you were standing before a mountain stream.” It goes without saying that boxed lunches sold at stations near tourism spots as well as *shokado*-style boxed lunches are packed with *mitate*-style allegories, but they are also quite common in boxed lunches prepared at home. The suffix “Fuji” has been applied to the names of various things all throughout Japan, and these are also examples of *mitate*-style allegory. The suffix Fuji has even been applied to the names of things in other countries. Japanese people living in a particular area may apply the suffix Fuji to the name of a local mountain as a way of communally showing affection for their hometown. So, *mitate* has the function of inspiring shared emotions.

Other types of *mitate* include activities such as “Rice Paddy Art” (Aomori Prefecture) in which rice paddies are used as an allegory for canvas by creating giant pictures and letters using different-colored rice plants as well as “Seto Inland Sea Stile,” launched as a way to advertise the unique culture of the inland sea, in which the Seto Inland Sea is used as an allegory for the Mediterranean Sea.

Mitate was originally a method propagated as a literary and artistic technique. As mentioned above, the technique has been applied in a broad range of fields such as literature and literary arts, including Haikai (poems consisting of only seventeen syllables), as well as flower arranging, painting, Kabuki and Noh. In the Edo period, allegorical pictures were popular. And in flower arranging, when empty flower bowl is placed in front of scrolls or wall in which some flowers are painted, you are expected to see the flowers in the picture are placed in the flower bowl.

In the realm of *omotenashi* as well, *mitate* has played an extremely important role. *Mitate*-style allegory is considered an element of value co-creation in Japanese-style creative service (Kobayashi, Hara and Yamauchi; p.54-57), and when viewed in the context of history, it is clear that it forms the foundation that enables the host-guest relationship that exists in instances of *omotenashi*.

This chapter examines historical transitions in *mitate* from the time of *Manyo-shu* (an ancient anthology of poetry) through to the establishment of *chanoyu* with a particular focus on allegories used at *renga* gatherings and *chanoyu*. This paper clarifies the processes through which host and guests use *mitate*-style allegory to elevate the values in instances of *omotenashi* by building active cooperation based on mutual understanding. ¹

¹Interviews relating to *chanoyu* were conducted with the Urasenke instructors Randy Soei and Mie Nakane. The interview with Randy Soei was conducted on August 5th, 2016 at a salon in Kyoto. The interview with Mie Nakane was conducted on August 11th, 2016 at her in-home practice room in Kobe.

2-1-2 From the Perspective of Japanese Linguistics

2-1-2-1 Listener Responsibility

How do linguists deal with *mitate*? Within the science of linguistics, *mitate* is defined as “an autonomous and creative method by which a new ‘pretense’ is superimposed over the ‘pretense’ of a tangible item or a ‘pretense’ created by the speaker” (Moriya, p. 1-2), and it is considered unique to the Japanese language. In the Japanese language, when speaker directly observes a situation, people tend to explain their pretenses as it is, non-analytically and in the form of a monologue (Moriya, p. 2). In other words, speakers express “how things appear to them” regardless of the reality of the situation. Japanese is said to possess a certain ‘self-centeredness’ in the sense that speakers assume that listeners possess the same knowledge they do. It is “the feeling that the distinction between self and other dissipates and that the parties fuse into one” (Ikegami, p. 289). The existence of this characteristic is precisely what enables *mitate* to function in the Japanese language.

Using *mitate* people superimpose an item over a different item that is being directly observed while omitting logical explanations about “why it appears that way.” Regarding this omission, however, Ikegami further points out the following. In the Japanese language, existing information is left un-verbalized if the speaker and listener possess a mutual understanding, but in English, it is difficult to leave components that form syntax ‘un-verbalized.’ As English speakers replace mutually-understood items with pronouns, listeners are able to understand what has been omitted thanks to the grammatical framework. The framework of Japanese, on the other hand, is not set up to enable listeners to infer what the speaker has omitted. Listeners must actively deduce the (omitted) information to which only the speaker is privy. Ikegami calls this “listener responsibility” (Ikegami, p. 271-6). In other words, it is the listener’s responsibility to fill in the unspoken blanks. This is reminiscent of the Japanese-style collaborative value creation in *chanoyu* gathering that is achieved through *mitate*-style allegory, but this paper will leave that topic for later discussion.

2-1-2-2 Metaphor and *Mitate*

In the Western cultures, there exist a rhetorical method called metaphor. According to Aristotle, metaphor means “when referring to one thing, to use a word indicating something else.” *Mitate* and metaphor could be considered similar linguistic acts in the sense that, in both, similarities are found between

item ‘A’ and some other item ‘B’ and then ‘A’ is expressed as ‘B’. However, in light of Ikegami’s argument, *mitate* and metaphor are shown to contain major differences. That is to say, *mitate* cannot function unless the speaker and listener (the side presenting the *mitate*-style allegory and the side being presented with it) first possess a mutual understanding. This is due to the fact that, when using *mitate* to express item A as some other item B, the expression takes the form of B is ...,” without any explanation to the effect of “...is like...” and even without expressing that “A is B.” Listeners must respond after first mentally inferring and instantly comprehending what the speaker omitted. In a sense, listeners are required to personally connect what initially appear to be scattered, context-less dots.

In a conversation with Shuji Takashina, Masao Yamaguchi said, “*Mitate* contains aspects of surreptitious substitution or transfer. It takes something in a new direction by leveraging a similarity. (...) *Mitate* has a way of creating a sense of distance through changing something’s entire shape while also leaving similarities” (Yamaguchi and Takashina, p. 130). In other words, they point out that *mitate* is a way of enjoying the differences between ‘A’ and ‘B’ whereas western-style metaphor emphasizes discovering similarities. This aspect as well exists precisely because Japanese people assume that the similarities between ‘A’ and ‘B’ are already understood (even without being overtly mentioned).

In the West, rhetoric has always been based on the assumption of “persuasion.” In order to explain one’s point to the listener and elicit a “yes,” speakers develop their arguments on similarities as points of reference. The purpose of *mitate*, on the other hand, is not persuasion. In Japanese, speakers presuppose mutual understanding and do not draw a clear border line between themselves and the listeners (Ikegami, p. 290).

2-2 *Mitate* Transitions and *omotenashi*

2-2-1 Sharing *Mitate*

2-2-1-1 Occurrences of *Mitate*

“*Mitate*,” as it is used in Japan, has a long history, and it is possible to trace the word all the way back to a passage about the gods Izanagi and Izanami contained in *Kojiki* (Japan’s oldest historical record), “*Ama-no-mihashira wo mitate tamahiki* (They glanced upon the heavenly pillar).” However, the first time “*mitate*” appeared as a method of clarification was in the collection of poems *Manyo-shu*.

There three main types of poetic expression techniques in *Manyo-shu* (particularly in love poems in the form of romantic exchanges): “*Seijutsu shinsho*” (expressing sentiments and feelings directly), “*Kibutsu chinshi*” (conveying feelings by using something else as a pretext) and “*Hiyu*” (expressing feelings using

something else, in that the mediating item is depicted openly and the true meaning only alluded to). This technique of “*hiyu*” became popular from the Heian period and later developed into the technique of *mitate* (Konoshi, p. 114).

The following poem by Abe no Nakamaro contained in *Kokin Wakashu* (an anthology of both ancient and modern poetry), created during the same time period as *Manyoshu*, shows effective usage of *mitate*. “*Ama no hara furisakemireba kasuga naru mikasa no yama ni ideshi tsuki kamo* (While gazing up into the sky, my thoughts have wandered far. I think I see the rising moon above Mount Mikasa at Kasuga.)” In this poem, Abe no Nakamaro thinks of his far-away home while staying in Tang-era China, and uses the moon rising over that foreign land as a *mitate*-style allegory for “the moon rising over Mount Mikasa” located near his home. Abe no Nakamaro is viewing the moon from Tang-era China, but he is writing nostalgically about the moon of his far-away homeland, not the moon he sees (Yoshiumi, p. 33-5). There is no explanation at all that “this moon looks like the moon rising over Mount Mikasa,” so the reader is required to imagine that “Abe no Nakamaro is envisioning the moon rising over the mountain where he is from.”

During the period in which *Manyo-shu* was created, *mitate* developed into more than a rhetorical method. More than half of *Manyo-shu* is comprised of “poems performed at banquets,” and the “gardens” where these banquets were held were in-and-of-themselves inseparably linked with *mitate*. During the period in which *Manyo-shu* was compiled, the residences of high-level officials in the central government featured gardens, modeled after those at the “emperor’s palace,” which contained ponds and artificial hills. The gardens of high-level officials in the central government were at the cutting edge of fashion (the most recently received aspects of mainland culture), and they were designed and maintained in that style. On the Asian mainland, being able to maintain a wonderful garden was the sign of a great king, so the people at the time unanimously strove to express their worthiness to be considered a civilized country by creating gardens with ponds, artificial hills and vegetation.

At the time, it was occasionally necessary to entertain foreign guest from Silla, etc. so influential persons in politics made mainland-style gardens at their residences to show their warmest welcome. And these gardens featured usage of *mitate*, such as stone arrangements used as an allegory for the Chinese coast, pampas grass used as an allegory for rice plants, etc. The point here is that *mitate* was no longer a form of rhetoric: instead, it has become a way of showing consideration and care for others (Ueno, 2010, p. 145-8).

This preference in garden creation had been passed down from previous generations. On the topic of

gardening, Hishikawa Moronobu states, “The intention behind these gardens was to naturally create allegories for various interesting scenes from China and Japan” (Tatsui, p. 28).

2-2-1-2 Examples of *Mitate* by Royalty and Nobility

In the Heian period, *mitate* became an essential technique as Japanese waka poetry became conventionalized and to use modifications. The nobility avoided directly expressing their true emotions, so being a noble meant controlling one’s emotions and expressing them in an appropriate way at the proper times and about the proper things. Whether or not one could appropriately express their emotions was seen as measure for how cultured an individual was as a noble. The emotional expression of “crying” is particularly notable. Stating one’s sadness or crying openly would have resulted in ridicule. One did not mourn out of sadness. It was considered proper to mourn because one was in a situation in which it was deemed appropriate to mourn (that is, to express sadness). In these sorts of situations in which one should mourn, it was required to express one’s feelings in an appropriate manner by, for example, using dew as an allegory for tears, as in calling to mind a tear-soaked sleeve with the phrase “a sleeve wet with dew.” The basic pattern of equating dew and tears had been standardized and was considered an essential piece of knowledge in poetry. A variety of intricate innovations were based on this assumption, including some based on classic works like *Kokinshu*, mentioned previously, and Chinese poetry, which resulted in the creation of new expressions (Otsuka, p. 116-26).

This is the exact idea behind the modern version of *mitate*, in which object ‘A’ in front of you is not seen as ‘A’ but rather as the separate item ‘B.’ And this draws one’s attention to how the separate item ‘B’ is understood and from which perspective it is being expressed. The central focus here becomes the expression of “feelings” as opposed to “things.” Listeners (or readers) would comprehend those “feelings” and reply to the poem using item ‘A.’

The important thing here is that, not only did *mitate* have a “fixed form”, its existence enabled those present to experience the same emotions. When a certain *mitate* was used, everyone presented would feel the same way and express the predicted emotional reaction. Such a thing is only possible if those involved possess the same high-level of education. What royalty and nobility preferred more than anything was the technique of “*honkadori*” (adaptations of famous poems), which was considered a way to apply *mitate*. It was an intellectual and complicated skill wherein one would take something they could see before them, link it with a previously-existing classical work and create a new world based on that. Understanding it

naturally required knowledge of the previously-existing work. It was only possible to be moved emotionally and to comprehend the other's intuition through familiarity with the background, etc. of that work. This method of *honkadori* became the norm and an established skill, and it was widely adopted through to later generations.

In other words, *mitate* could be considered to have developed from a "personal technique" into a "group technique" during the Heian period. By being shared through these types of occasions, personal observations and ideas occurring in various situations turned into "aspects of culture and education that were shared by a community." It was assumed that others had studied these as so-called "norms." At the same time, it developed beyond just being an expressive skill and became a way to influence the emotions of those present. While *mitate* has an established form, nobles were able to be emotionally moved and cry when hearing it. To put it another way, being able to do this was in-and-of-itself a prerequisite for nobility. Expressions of sensitivity among royalty and nobility played a major role in establishing *mitate*.

2-2-2 Shifting– A Form of *Mitate* Seen in *Renga*

The literary art genre of *renga*, a form of chained verse poetry, was beloved as a so-called citizen's literary art for the 900 years from the end of the Heian period through to the Edo period. Knowledge of and skill in *mitate* was essential in *renga*.

Renga is composed separately of the first half of waka poetry, three lines of 5, 7 and 5 syllables and the latter half of waka poetry, two lines of 7 syllables. First, section A (called *hokku*) comprised of three lines with 5, 7, and 5 syllables respectively is recited, and then, the next person adds section B (called *wakiku*) comprised of two lines of 7 syllables. The third person, then, creates a new section A' comprised of three lines with 5, 7, and 5 syllables respectively, and attaches it to the aforementioned section B. The fourth person attaches to this a new section B' comprised of two lines of 7 syllables, and so on in a chain, with each person in line attaching a section. Participants enjoyed the process of racking their brains to create a massive poem while obeying the complicated set of rules. Waka poems are basically independently created by a "single" poet, whereas linked verse style of *renga* poetry required a "group" of multiple (around ten) participants. Linked verse poetry gatherings are enlivened by groups of people who get along well working together for a long period of time. In some cases, the organizer would also serve food and drinks. These characteristics gave linked verse poetry a reputation as 'seated literary art.'

In most cases, *renga* poems were considered completed once they reached a length of one hundred

sections, but they contain no theme that unifies all one hundred sections. The contents of each section are up to each individual member, who attaches each new section in relation to the immediately preceding section. *Renga* is governed by a complex and strict set of codified rules, “*shikimoku*.” It is forbidden to use the same phrase or phrases with similar imagery in close proximity to each other, and the rules stipulate how many sections are required between each instance of certain words, like “moon,” “cave,” “travel,” etc. In linked verse poetry it was preferred to avoid stagnating on a particular idea or world and try to develop dynamically over the course of time (Hiroki, 2006, p. 42-56).

In *renga* poetry, it is preferable to attach new sections that makes use of the preceding person’s section as an allegory for a scene appearing in a classical work through *mitate* and *honkadori*. (This is considered association.) There also exist a large number of manuals on *mitate* and *honkadori*, and one could say that the idea of *mitate* forms the foundation of linked verse poetry. *Mitate* made use of royal stories and waka poetry, including *The Tale of Genji*. In the poem *Atago Hyakuin*, for example, the section “*Omohini nagaki yoru wa akashigata* (Camellia flowers at night while lost in thought)” was attached to “*Hakanakumo tanomikaketaru yumegatari* (A fleeting dream that beckons)” as a way of calling to mind the scene in which Genji sees his deceased father, Emperor Kiritubo, in a dream by turning the word for “dream” in the preceding section into an allegory for the volume named “Akashi” in *The Tale of Genji*. (Hiroki, 2006, p. 61-3, 81).

As mentioned previously, since there is a rule in *renga* poetry that one should not remain in the same world, *mitate* is also unable to remain in the same world and must be constantly changing. These “changes in *mitate*” are another interesting aspect to linked verse poetry. The *renga* poets who oversaw *renga* poem gatherings displayed their skills in enabling this to function smoothly and effectively.

Take as an example the beginning of the poem “*Minasesangin Hyakuin*” written by Sogi, the leading *renga* poet. The first half is “*Yukinagara yamamoto kasumu yube kana* (Some snow still remains as haze moves low on the slopes toward evening),” and the latter half is “*Yuku mizu tohoku ume nihofu sato* (Flowing water, far away— and a plum scented village).” This continues with the third section as “*Kawakaze ni hitomura yanagi haru miete* (Wind off the river blows through a clump of willows— and spring appears);” the fourth as “*Fune sasu oto wa shiruki akegata* (A boat being poled along, sounding clear at break of day),” the fifth as “*Tsuki wa nao kiri wataru yoru ni nokoruran* (Still there, somewhere: the moon off behind the mist traversing the night);” and the sixth as “*Shimo oku nohara aki wa kurekeri* (Out on frost-laden fields, autumn has come to its end).” The progression changes season, time and location

in rapid succession like a magnificent scrolling picture in the pattern: “snow, mountain and evening” → “plum, hometown and smell” → “river and early spring” → “boat, daybreak and sound” → “moon, fog and night” → “autumn, frost and field” (Watanuki, p. 71-2).

In *renga* poetry, which requires constant change, the participants are supposed to understand and shift the *mitate* of the preceding person and to seek odd ways to perform this shifting. To put it another way, the participants enjoy the sudden jumps that occur between the preceding and following scenes by shifting the contest back and forth among themselves as a team.

It is thought that participants at linked verse poetry gatherings shift away from simply sharing of *mitate* and share the instantaneous effects of this type of shifting.

2-3 *Mitate* in *Chanoyu*

In *chanoyu*, *mitate* has two different meanings.

Mitate within the context of *chanoyu* generally refers to using *mitate* relating to tea utensils. During a time when luxuriously beautiful Chinese goods were highly valued, Sen no Rikyu intentionally preferred simple tea cups, which resulted in the creation of hand-molded earthenware teacups. And using everyday dishware as *chanoyu* utensils was also a form of *mitate*. In the modern age as well, traditional western ceramics and glass products are often used as *chanoyu* utensils and the contrast this produces is valued (Moriya, p. 5-7).

However, *mitate* in *chanoyu* goes beyond selection of tea utensils. First of all, the act of (allegorically) using items not originally intended as tea utensils, the host intends to share with the guest a world other than the one before their eyes within the limited space of the tea room.

The technique of superimposing another world over one’s observable reality in this way is actually deeply related to *Shin Kokin Wakashu* (New Anthology of Ancient and Modern Poems). In fact, more than half of the poems contained in *the Shin Kokin Wakashu* make use of this type of *mitate*. Take as an example the poem “*Miwataseba hana mo momiji mo nakarikeri ura no tomoya no aki no yugure* (As far as the eye could see, there were no blossoms or scarlet leaves: On the shore a thatched hut in the autumn dusk)” by Fujiwara no Teika. This poem only functions if the poet and listener imagine the same flowers and the same scarlet leaves. The phrase “*Miwataseba hana mo momiji mo*” conjures within the listener (reader) of beautiful cherry blossoms and blazingly scarlet leaves. To break this down, it means that they experience the world of cherry blossoms and scarlet leaves as traditionally described in classic works. However, that

elegant world is dispelled in an instant by the next word “*nakarikeri*.” This is an advanced technique in which a new scene is superimposed over the one before the listener’s eyes, and then, this new scene gets denied. Denying the image of cherry blossoms and scarlet leaves immediately after calling it to the reader’s mind emphasizes the gap between “existence” and “non-existence.” This enables the creation of a simple, refined and solemn world, as opposed to a simply drab and empty scene “without things” (Yasuda, p. 2).

Early *chanoyu* practitioners such as Murata Juko found in this poem a sense of “austerity” that transcended the world of beauty. In fact, when establishing the principles of *chanoyu*, Sen no Rikyu is said to have been greatly influenced by Fujiwara no Teika (Yasuda, p. 1). The anecdote about Sen no Rikyu arranging an empty flower pot when inviting guests to a *chanoyu* gathering is considered in line with this way of thinking. There is nothing on the floor but a flower pot. When guests approach out of curiosity, they see that the water pot is filled to the brim. It gives the impression of “asking the observer to vividly imagine flowers when looking at the flower pot.” The act of not arranging any flowers actually enhances the space. The guests are sure to have been surprised but also quite impressed by Sen no Rikyu’s unconventional ideas (Tsutsui, p. 71-2).

The purpose behind designs that make something that is “absent” seem to be “present” is not simply to be surprising. Rather, the importance of *mitate* in *chanoyu* is to prepare by “intentionally shedding conventions for the sake of that day alone.” Considerations are made to ensure that the day is a superb and unique occasion by coming up with a theme and considering the guests. Deep thought is put into what one can do at the moment for the guest and for “that unique day.” *Mitate* is the result of this contemplation. In other words, “the moment, the location and the guests” are highlighted by incorporating unconventional items as tea utensils. This gave *mitate*, which had developed from *Manyo-shu*, a new meaning.

2-2-4 Transitions in *Mitate*

We have observed transitions in *Mitate* from the time of *Manyo-shu* through to waka poetry by royalty, *renga* poetry and *chanoyu*. Banquets for *Manyo* people and *renga* gatherings are extremely significant within the development history of Japanese-style hospitality, as exemplified by *chanoyu* (Aishiima and Sato, 2016, p. 140-41). It means the significance and role of *mitate* achieved the change as *omotenashi* progressed from the individual to the group and became formulized, or “kata-ized”.

Here we will summarize the transitions that *mitate* underwent from *Manyo-shu* to *chanoyu*.

At the time of *Manyo-shu*, *mitate* were comparatively simple, easy-to-understand and based on

observations and ideas occurring on that occasion, but as we move through time, *mitate* came to be defined through sharing and repetition. It was formulized in the Heian period, and it became normalized as a form of shared knowledge. Similarly, as we move through time, the technique of simple expressing one thing as another became a way to inspire certain specific emotions. These are backed by the fact that members in the communities concerned shared nearly the same education, culture, sensibilities and world view, and that people interacted with one another based on these similarities. In the area of linked verse poetry, it was assumed that the members of a gathering all shared the same level of education, and *mitate* was applied by making full use of this.

On what, then, did people base poems created using *mitate*? What kind of knowledge did *mitate* require? Classical works were the base of poems from the time of *Manyo-shu* through to linked verse poetry. An essential aspect of education for noble children in the Heian period was to memorize *Kokin Wakashu*. During the period of linked verse poetry, warriors and townspeople who had no connection whatsoever to aristocratic education enjoyed linked verse poetry, so guidebooks and easy introductory manuals on *The Tale of Genji* and famous anthologies of waka poetry appeared. There were also people who attended professional lectures (from a poet) before attending linked verse poetry gatherings (Watanuki, 2014, p. 77-80).

What was the experience value for the providers and recipients of *mitate*? In the case of *Manyo-shu*, the providers (banquet hosts) displayed their Chinese education and wealth. For example, it is said that the *mitate* of garden creation shows the financial power of creator. Provider could also organize the occasion through selection of the day's theme. In contrast, participants displayed their education by conveying that they understood the *mitate*, and by doing so, they proved that they were members of the same community as the host.

In the Heian period, nobles acquired a high-level, common education, which formed the basis for *mitate*. Based on the fact that they possessed the same knowledge, providers of *mitate* would use it to connect a new world on top of the traditional world, which displayed their personal education and sense. In some cases, *mitate* was also used when identifying a participant's level of education and culture. The participants would personally become absorbed in and share the emotions contained in the poem, which would contribute to enlivening the occasion.

In *renga* poetry, maintaining and improving the overall quality of the gathering requires not only understanding *mitate* but also the ability to skillfully continue shifting. It was also ideal for shifting to

surprise, entertain and emotionally move everyone present. A recipient would then become a provider, and a work was completed by everyone working in cooperation while switching roles from moment to moment.

Chanoyu became popular during the same period of time as *renga* poetry, and it was deeply influenced by it. In *chanoyu*, *mitate* was further deepened, and it took on the significance of connecting hosts and guests.

Table 5-1 Transitions in *Mitate*

	Manyoshu	Heian Period	Renge Poetry	Chanoyu
Item used	Objects, scenes	Objects, scenes	Objects, occasions	Daily utensils
Item being alluded to	Separate object or scene	Separate object or imagined scene	Separate occasion (well-known)	Tea utensils
Persistence	Only once	Standardized and conventionalized	Standardized	Only once
Determiner	Those present at the time	Traditions, standards	Member of gathering (group)	Host
Knowledge needed	Education in Chinese poetry	<i>Kokinshu</i> , Chinese poetry	Textbooks such as <i>Genji</i>	Shared education, shared preferences
Way of Learning	Reading Chinese poems	Memorization of <i>Kokinshu</i> , etc.	Learning from poets	Learning from teachers
Schools	No	No	Initial stage	Yes
Value on the part of the Provider	Display of one's education and wealth	Display and confirmation of one's education	Display of one's education / Enjoyment	Interaction with guests
Value on the part of the Recipient	Surprise / Display of one's education	Emotion / Shared reaction	Laughter / Emotion / Learning	Emotion

2-3. *Mitate* and Value Co-Creation

2-3-1 *Mitate* in *chanoyu*—Guest Behaviors and Host Behaviors

In the first place, why do *chanoyu* hosts use *mitate*? Although utensils and behaviors are extremely formulized, hosts intentionally break the conventional style and use items that would not normally be used as tea utensils. This is because hosts think of that day's guests, and intend to convey gratitude for coming and entertain them. As an example, for a guest that had traveled far to arrive, a host might prepare items (ceramics, etc.) used in daily life in the area where the guest is from, or if it is a celebration, the host might incorporate a swan motif in line with the occasion. Even if the same guest were to visit again, that day's *chanoyu* would be unique. This is the very embodiment of the spirit of *ichigo ichie* (once-in-a-lifetime opportunity), which urges one to do their best to value the current occasion. *Mitate* is more than a simple observation or idea. It is also a sign of the host's feelings toward the guests and the occasion.

However, *mitate* in *chanoyu* would not function from that alone. The guests sense the host's consideration for them through his *mitate*, and the guests are required to actively participate in its implementation. No matter how much a host pours his heart into preparation, the *mitate* would mean nothing if the guests do not understand it. Therefore, guests play a major role in whether or not *mitate* function. Of course, preparing *mitate* in line with the guest's background and that the guest will understand and enjoy is an essential aspect of consideration on the part of the host.

The host pours his heart into preparing for that day's guest, and the guest reciprocates. Sen no Rikyu's pupil, Yamashita Soji, commented as follows on his master's teachings on this cooperative relationship between host and guest: "On guest behaviors... Throughout the entire meeting, when opening the utensils and taking the first drink, as well as from when you enter until when you leave, guests must first and foremost treat the host as though it is a once-in-a-lifetime meeting. Next, on host behaviors... Hosts must entertain guests from the bottom of their hearts, and even when meeting guests that visit often, hosts must maintain the same attitude as if they were welcoming someone famous." In other words, guests are instructed to feel for and respect hosts as though they were once-in-a-lifetime meetings, and hosts are instructed to value and respect guests from the bottom of their heart. The fact that Sen no Rikyu talks first about guest behaviors suggests how important the role of a guest is in *omotenashi*. Guests at *chanoyu* are not actually there to "receive *omotenashi*." They are required to play a more active role (Kozu, p. 166-7).

2-3-2 *Mitate* and *Ichiza Konryu*

Visually speaking, *mitate* in tea ceremonies are divided into two main types. One type of *mitate* requires knowledge and education regarding classical works. This type requires guests the study of a certain amount. Take as an example *mitate* in which dishware painted with images of irises are used as utensils. Not only would the guest enjoy its seasonal implication but it would also likely call to mind the line from *Tales of Ise* "*Karakoromo kitsutsu narenishi tsuma shi areba harubaru kinuru tabi wo shi zo omofu* (My robe, long worn in comfort, so like the wife I have. Having come so far along I ponder this journey.)" (in which the first sounds of each line of 5, 7, 5, 7 and 7 syllables respectively combine to form the word *kakitubata*, meaning iris) as well as iris covered panels painted by Ogata Korin.

There is also an easier-to-understand type of *mitate*. This type enables hosts to easily convey their intention as it is understandable just by looking, such as providing a feeling of coolness during the summer by using glass dishware, etc.

Both types, however, require guests to polish their sensibilities and pay attention to arrangements in the tea room and the movements of the host. In other words, guests are required to actively sense what the host intends and is trying to convey, and to be able to be grateful and emotionally moved. This is the proper way for a guest to behave. Guests shoulder the role of personally participating in *mitate* and increasing the value of the occasion.

As is evident, a cooperative relationship between host and guest is essential for *mitate* to function. Using *mitate* as a tool, hosts and guests are able to establish unity or oneness through mutual cooperation. The concept of “forming a group” has been explained in various different ways depending on the school, but one thing they have in common is the idea of creating an occasion that engenders a sense of oneness by unifying the feelings of those present at the gathering (host and guests). In that sense, hosts and guests are in equal and reversible positions. This is also known as the “distinction between host and guest” and the “transposition of host and guest,” which Sen So-oku, the retired head of the Mushakojisenke School, explains as follows: “This means that host and guest are strictly separate but occasionally these positions are momentarily switched. The host becomes the guest. The guest becomes the host. These moments are repeated back and forth...Neither unilaterally entertains the other, nor is unilaterally entertained. Each sympathizes with and entertains the other from their respective positions” (Sen, p. 70-71).

As mentioned here, within hospitality based on *mitate*, the value of the occasion is increased through mutual cooperation between “the entertainer” (host, provider) and “the entertained” (guest, recipient). A collective value is created that exceeds the combined personal values of the host and the guest. Increasing the collective value of the occasion makes the host and the guests more satisfied that they were able to share a wonderful time together.

2-3-3. Value Co-Creation in Omotenashi

As *chanoyu* is considered to be a comprehensive example of *omotenashi*, the mechanism of value co-creation in *chanoyu* through the use of *mitate* provides major hints when considering the mechanisms of value co-creation of *omotenashi*. The following summarizes these characteristics. Firstly, providers and recipients are mutually equal and not in a unilateral relationship (“The transposition of host and guest”). Secondly, it is necessary to approach the occasion in a unified way and actively participant with all of one’s ability (“Host behaviors” and “guest behaviors”). Finally, active participation by both parties increases the co-created value of “*ba*”. Increasing the collective value also increases individual value.

Furthermore, there are two points that must not be forgotten. Instead of fulfilling their respective “roles” as an obligation, hosts and guests should prepare to be able to improve their ability to fulfill their roles. It is supposed that finding value in the act of daily practice itself comes from the preference to perform *chanoyu* in an even more beautiful way.

The other point is the elements of “enjoyment” and “playfulness.” The act of intentionally breaking away from conventional styles is in itself the idea of “playfulness,” and even when the host and guest are seriously confronting, there is still an atmosphere of enjoying the occasion itself. One should enjoy the act of sharing the occasion with the other party, and the two should mutually enjoy the communication. In this case, intentionally breaking away from conventional styles will elicit emotional reactions from the guest, and increasing the value of the occasion is predicated on both parties understanding of the original forms and “conventional styles.” In other words, a shared culture within “*ba*” and shared sensibilities are necessary.

2-4 Conclusion

This chapter focuses on the expressive method of *mitate*, and clarifies the important role played by *mitate* in building relationships during instances of *omotenashi* while tracing transitions in *mitate* through time from *Manyo-shu* banquets to *renga* gatherings and *chanoyu*. In particular, hosts and guests at *chanoyu* are an equal and trans-positional relationship, and host behaviors and guest behaviors are required in order to increase the value of the occasion in unison. And the key to this is *mitate*.

When *mitate* functions well, it means that the context is being shared. As mentioned previously, in *renga* poetry, long works are created together by all members in attendance as they continually keep shifting *mitate* from one person to another while sharing the context. as is expressed in *chanoyu*, was created in *renga* gatherings as well through the technique of *mitate*.

VI *Chanoyu* as Culmination of Omotenashi

1 Sen-no-Rikyu as Innovator of *Chanoyu*

1-1 Introduction

In this chapter, my purpose is to clarify what Sen-no-Rikyu added to and / or remove from the omotenashi in the previous periods, not limited to the *chanoyu* before. *Chanoyu* has undergone various changes in order to adapt to evolving generations. If one was to line up Sen-no-Rikyu's *chanoyu* and say that “this is what Japan's *chanoyu* is like,” then many important details may be missed. This chapter deals with the process of transformation of *chanoyu*, with a focus on value of participants.

Chanoyu is a culmination of omotenashi in three points; (1) in *chanoyu* gathering, host and guest(s) exchange their roles spontaneously, and it leads to further value of participation. The idea of unity between host and guest(s) of *chanoyu* gathering has provided a basis of omotenashi for contemporary business practice. (2) in *chanoyu*, participants are expected to have a high education to enjoy the omotenashi. In other words, guests are responsible to read the host's consideration, and (3) *chanoyu* made omotenashi something spiritual. With *chanoyu* spread among people including women, *chanoyu* has been regarded as discipline to be acquired.

Before going into the discussion, I would like to explain the two main pillars involved in the history of *chanoyu*. *Chanoyu* can be largely organized into “spirituality” and “socialization/entertainment.” In Japan, it was the Zen priests that spread the habit of drinking tea. The Zen influence is also apparent in Sen-no-Rikyu's *chanoyu*. In the present, emphasis is given to the spirituality of *chanoyu*, now attributed to “*chanoyu*, a symbol of omotenashi.”

Meanwhile, tea gatherings that are enjoyed by a number of people are valued as a way to build social and networking relationships. In the Kamakura period, games known as *tocha* (tea competitions) became popular; when the popularity of *tocha* declined, *Shoin cha*—a form of tea that focused on the tools (ornaments) used—became mainstream. This would be overshadowed by Sen-no-Rikyu's *chanoyu*, but has been revived once again in the modern era.

The next section will detail the history of *chanoyu*, focusing on its spirituality, socialization, and entertainment aspects. Based on these, the innovations made by Sen-no-Rikyu to the history of *chanoyu*

will be brought to light.

1-2 Spirituality of *Chanoyu*: Relationship with Zen Buddhism

It is a known fact that Zen Buddhism was influential in the spread and creation of *chanoyu*, for it was the Zen priests who spread the habit of drinking tea in the first place, and it was in the Zen temples where tea was drunk. Even the basics of *chanoyu*, the *sarei* (rules of *chanoyu*), are from Zen temples. In Sen-no-Rikyu's era, a *chanoyu* master learned Zen. There is no doubt that Sen-no-Rikyu himself, who from a young age trained in a temple, established *chanoyu* based on Zen.

However, focusing only on Zen as an influence on *chanoyu* is not appropriate for its establishment was also largely influenced by other factors such as private beliefs and the trends of particular time periods. One of those influencing factors that preceded Sen-no-Rikyu was Shinto. Additional influencing factors include the concepts of *gekokujo* (overthrowing one's superiors) and equality. In the Edo period, Confucianism, endorsed by the Shogunate, decided the direction of *chanoyu*. In other words, in the feudal structure, *bukecha* (*samurai*-style *chanoyu*) became the mainstream form of *chanoyu*; it corresponded to one's social class in order to acquire the necessary qualities, morals, and education that a politician should possess. In the modern age, *chado* is not just entertainment; as a Japanese person, it has a national meaning that pertains to morals, culture, and manners. In its history prior to the modern age, *chanoyu* was deeply involved with the nation's social system.

1) *Sarei* (Rules of Tea) in Zen Temples

Historically, the relationship between *chanoyu* and Zen Buddhism is well-known. Although the actual era in which tea (the plant itself) was introduced to Japan is still under debate, tea drinking was brought from China either by the mission or a private international student, during the Nara period. It was used to pray for peace for the nation; *hikicha* (Buddhist ritual tea) was served to priests.¹ In the Heian period, the spread of tea, which was mainly among priests and aristocrats, was illustrated in the Chinese poetry at the time. It was not *chanoyu* as is known today, rather it was a Chinese-style ceremony. At the time, it was a popular ceremony meant to be a reminder of Chinese culture (Tanihata, pp. 25-33).

After the abolition of the mission, this way of drinking tea gradually fell into the shadows, along with

¹ Kozu (2009) states that Eisai was said to have sent tea to Japan, but recent research debunks this claim. The custom of drinking tea existed from the Nara period. Also, Eisai was not Zen, but an Esoteric Buddhist monk. "Incantation and prayers" were ordered by the General.

the aggressive inclusion of Chinese culture prior to that time. Here, the predecessor of the present-day *chanoyu* method (powdered tea, drunk after stirring) was introduced by the Zen priest, Yosai, after his return from China. Yosai is said to be conveyor of Rinzaï Zen. He opened the first Zen temple, and dedicated tea to the Shogun, Minamoto no Sanetomo. He also wrote *Kissa Yojoki* (Book on Drinking Tea for a Healthy Life). The first book about tea in Japan, it consists of two volumes, and it contains such details as the names and uses of tea and the rules for drinking tea (it discusses not only tea, but information on mulberries are also explained with the same degree of emphasis).

Yosai says about tea as follows:

Tea is the secret key to long lives. The mountains and valleys and the land with tea plant shall become of the land of gods. If humans drink tea, they will have long lives. They appreciate it in India and China. In Japan, people have enjoyed tea for so long. People should not lose the habit. It is undoubtedly a good medicine for life....

As seen above, tea was initially regarded as medicinal. The quotation states, “medicine for a long life,” but the tea offered to the Shogun was the response to a request for incantations and prayers to cure hangovers. Therefore, it was probably also thought to have an improving effect on such a condition. Additionally, the awakening effect of drinking tea was also probably important to the priest.

Tea did not serve only as a medicine. Kumakura (2011) reasons that “in the first place, Eisai probably brought tea to Japan in order to properly carry out the ritual of Zen Buddhism in Japan.” In Zen temples in China, priests were required to observe the living standards of cleanliness. Among the standards to which priests were required to practice in their daily lives, was a kind of *chanoyu* called *sarei*. *Kissa Yojoki* emphasized the health benefits of tea ceremonies, which may have been a way to disseminate tea (Kumakura, 2011).

What was the nature of *sarei* in Zen temples? Below is an example.

In the tea gathering, seats are set up in the Buddha hall, or a pavilion with Buddhist drawings or majestic paintings hanging on the center wall of the room. A table decorated with *mitsugusoku* (three decorations) is placed in front of the Buddhist paintings, and incense, sweets, rice, tea, etc. are also provided. The center of the room is decorated with a scented cauldron and an incense burner. Right on time, a priest stands at the entrance with a roster and calls the names of participants sequentially, from the lowest level. Those who are called enter the room with their heads bowed and stand at the seats where their name tags are placed. The main guest of honor enters the room last. When all participants have

entered, the presiding priest enters, sits with one knee up, and raises the paper fan he is holding. Everyone clasps their hands together and takes their seats. Then the priest steps out, leaving a lighted candle on the table. Another priest enters and lights the incense burner. The previously presiding priest enters the room, extinguishes the candlelight and then leaves. Next, a total of eight priests (one head serving priest and his helpers) serve a dim sum meal. When all participants have been served, the presiding priest enters, and the meal begins once he lowers his head while holding the paper fan. When the main guest of honor has finished his meal and sets down his chopsticks, everyone sets down theirs as well. The serving priest and his helpers clear out all the dishes from everyone's tables.

Next, the serving priest enters the room holding a *tenmoku* tray, with a *tenmoku* tea bowl (filled with *matcha* beforehand) on the left and a box of sweets on the right, and places it in front of the main guest of honor. All the other guests pass around pieces of sweets and bowls of tea to their seats. Once the sweets and bowls of tea have reached all participants, the serving priest enters with a bottle of hot water in his left hand and a *chasen* (tea whisk) in his right. With his head held low, the serving priest pours the hot water into the main guest of honor's tea bowl and whisks it with the *chasen* using his right hand. All the other guests hold out their bowls and mix their tea. When everyone has their tea, they all drink at the same time. The manner of clearing out the sweets container and bowls is the same as when they were served. Once the utensils are cleared, all the guests stand with their hands clasped, and they leave the room sequentially beginning with the main guest of honor (Honda, 1979).

The above description demonstrates that the act of drinking tea in Zen temples is extremely ritualistic and has a strong religious meaning.

2) Zen Cha

How are Zen and *chanoyu* related? This thesis does not pursue the philosophy of Zen itself, which is not a simple pursuit. However, in Zen, it is taught that all things are originally nothing and to learn the Buddhist way is to learn about one's self; to learn about one's self is to forget one's self, one needs to live a simple life by letting go of unnecessary things. Within these things, a person also needs to let go of oneself. It is no wonder that the spirituality of Zen was naturally accepted by those who aspired to a new kind of *chanoyu*, the *wabi cha*.²

² At the time, appreciating the arrangement of unusual and expensive tools was the mainstream form of *chanoyu*. Shuko, Joo, and Sen-no-Rikyu denied this traditional *chanoyu*; these imperfections and missing pieces led to the

As Sen-no-Rikyu's disciple, Yamanoue Soji declared, "because *chanoyu* emerged out of the Zen, it is practiced by the Zen priests,"³ many *chanoyu* masters tried to deepen their understanding of Zen masters. Juko, the founder of Wabi-cha, trained under the guidance of the Zen master Ikkyu. *Zencha-roku* (Record of Zen Tea) provide the following passage:

The Zen way being the focus of *chanoyu* happened in Murasakino through Ikkyu; the reason for this is the South Shomyoji Temple's Juko became a disciple of Ikkyu, on a day when Ikkyu witnessed him performing *chanoyu*; tea is important to the Buddhist way, to transfer Zen thoughts to *chanoyu* shows that the way of tea demonstrates one's self-consciousness for the sake of living creatures, and so it is not so different from the way of Zen, and can be used in all ceremonies.

In the practice of *chanoyu*, obeying its rules is not enough, for it is meaningless without the spirit of tea and Zen accompanying it. Here, the rules of tea are only one of the means of understanding the law of Buddha. "Zen and tea have the same thing" is also stated as "the meaning of *chanoyu* is, instantly, the meaning of Zen." In other words, this is preaching about the utility of *chanoyu* for reaching that point with the main being, which is Zen (Kasai, 1990).

Sen-no-Rikyu also had Zen education. Based on historical records, Honda (1966) surmises that in concurrent with Sen-no-Rikyu's practice of *chanoyu*, under the guidance of Joo before he was 16, he was also practicing Zen. Sen-no-Rikyu's insights as a Zen master at the time has been held in high regard. Scroll one of the *Namporoku*⁴ states the following:

As Sen-no-Rikyu (Soeki) declares, *chanoyu* is...there is nothing difficult within that tea room...Like the first law of Buddhism, *chanoyu* in a small tea room is the path to training. It is good enough that one can live hungry and with no shelter. This is what Buddha teaches, the true meaning of *chanoyu*.

Here, small tea room is most suitable for *wabi cha*, and *wabi cha* makes the most sense in that context. To attain *wabi cha*, practicing with Buddhism is necessary. Note that *cha* and Zen are mixed together in Sen-no-Rikyu's *chanoyu*. Before this, with the ideal being that *chanoyu* and Zen were of equal meaning, the practice of *chanoyu* was convenient for attaining the main purpose, which is Zen. Sen-no-Rikyu, in this

creation of *wabi cha*.

³ Printed in Soji Yamanoue's "Records of Soji Yamanoue." *Complete Classical Works of Chado*. (Tankosha). Volume 6, p.95

⁴ Although "Namporoku" is said to be unreliable historically, there is no doubt that it expresses Sen-no-Rikyu's intentions.

sense, raised the status of *chanoyu*. In addition, the *Nanporoku* also states:

This represents the real intention of *wabi*, a clean and innocent Buddhist world...if we clear out the dust and come face to face with the main guest of honor...It is a matter of raising a fire, boiling water, and consuming tea. Do not be preoccupied by other things. This will open the heart of Buddha.

Here, the ideals of *wabi cha* coincide with that of the “Buddhist world.”⁵ *Chanoyu* is not about the tools or forms, but the spiritual theory of *chanoyu* itself, where the lord and his guests meet together face to face.

3) Historical Background: Factors that Influenced Sen-no-Rikyu's *Chanoyu*

(i) Influence of Folk Beliefs

In the era of Sen-no-Rikyu, Zen was not the only factor that influenced *chanoyu*. There was a mixture of various beliefs and ideas that influenced it, leading to the establishment of *chanoyu* as it is presently known.

Folk beliefs are one of the first factors to provide an influence. For example, in the above-mentioned *sarei*, to have a multiple number of guests, such as four people (four heads) or eight people (eight heads), was not rare. *Taiheiki* (Chronicle of Great Peace) states that “there are seats lined up for four main heads,” depicting a welcome for four guests. Meanwhile, with Sen-no-Rikyu's *chanoyu* gathering, there is only one main guest; that person is given special treatment. It is said that the practice of *chanoyu* is a ritual where an important person is welcomed with hospitality and a meal is prepared for him. In other words, the act of *chanoyu* itself is nothing more than a type of ritual to show one's sincere respect to an important person.

Honda (1979) relates this to the belief in a guest god that has existed in Japan for a long time. In this belief, the god who is responsible for blessing agriculture and harvests visits a certain house and blesses the place and its inhabitants. A guest god is believed to be a god who has come back to give his answer to the people, and he is credited with titles such as “honorable guest,” “wanderer,” and “nobleman.” The

⁵ It has been pointed out that *wabi cha* was a religious reform within Zen that made it possible for the townspeople to give thanks to the previous Zen master (Hisamatsu Shinichi).

house where the “guest god” is welcomed has its rooms refurbished, with its occupants dressed in fine clothing, and guests are entertained. The entertainment in this case is similar to that of *chanoyu* that Sen-no-Rikyu established. In addition, many factors relating to the guest god have explanations, such as the purification of open lands and welcome greetings, the approach to the tea room, the movement of purifying with hand bowls, and the *tatami* used for the nobleman’s seat.

However, Honda himself admits that this practice is not based on a clear faith called Shinto, but rather, it is better regarded as respect by the Japanese at the time for the vague “gods” that existed around them, nearly unconsciously. Indeed, at this time, there is nothing about private beliefs or a “god” mentioned in *chanoyu* books or in Sen-no-Rikyu's words, although words like Zen or Buddha are frequent.

(ii) Influence of Christianity⁶

The period in which *chado* was popularized by Sen-no-Rikyu is consistent with the timeline of when Christianity spread widely, and its believers were increasing. Interestingly enough, tea also penetrated the church. The drinking of tea is depicted in a drawing on a Namban folding screen in Nambanji Temple (a Catholic Church), though tea itself was not considered delicious.

Despite being expelled later on in history, Christian missionaries, having brought Namban culture into the country, were welcomed hospitably by the authorities. Many people converted to Christianity, including Ukon Takayama, Sen-no-Rikyu’s family (his daughter Okame), and his disciples. At the time, masses were held on top of *tatami* mats, and believers would sit down and listen to the homily. Sen-no-Rikyu probably witnessed the way participants took turns drinking, the way the priest folded the cloth (holy cloth, purificatorium), and the wiping of the Chalice (Holy Wine).

However, there is no evidence that these things influenced Sen-no-Rikyu. The fact that Christianity was forbidden does not sufficiently explain why records of its influence do not remain. The fact is, taking turns drinking and sharing meals are practices that also apply to other religions, so it is highly possible that this similarity is coincidental. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that in the same era, a similar practice of *rei* (gratitude) existed, and Sen-no-Rikyu was in a position to be well aware of this fact.

More importantly, the teachings of Christianity that all are brothers in front of God was beginning to be supported by the military commanders at the time. Consciousness of human equality, or ideal, was not

⁶ Masubuchi(1995) examines closely the relationship between *chanoyu* and Christianity from comparative cultural viewpoint. However, he did not declare Sen-no-Rikyu borrowed something from the behaviors of Mass.

limited to its narrow meaning in the Christian faith, that momentum of surpassing someone higher even if one is of low birth, or even if one is a merchant, he possessed the same rights to negotiate at the same level as a *samurai*, was totally applicable to the atmosphere of that era. Sen-no-Rikyu's "equality in the tea room" reflects this concept. For example, Sakai, where Sen-no-Rikyu and his followers were active, was known as a free city dominated by merchants. These merchants, who had control over the sales and transportation of weapons and ammunition, were indispensable to the ability of the *Daimyo* (feudal lord) to win battles and build a town and castle. Weapons merchants were equally linked to political power. Merchants, hating the rule of the upper-class people of the government, solved this problem for themselves through a meeting of the self-governing representatives, and operated the city of Sakai.

Moreover, Sen-no-Rikyu himself belonged to the emerging merchant class. To aim higher, he tried to operate differently from the old established business merchants. His perspective was broad, beyond Sakai, and success came to him during the entry of administrations such as that of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi. Even in *chanoyu*: whereas other *chanoyu* masters put an emphasis on expensive tools, Sen-no-Rikyu preferred imperfect *chanoyu* ware while chanting spirituality. Given the social position that Sen-no-Rikyu occupied in the real world, this may have just been the natural course for him. It can be said that the ideas and concepts in Sen-no-Rikyu's *chanoyu* could not have been realized if it were not for the momentum of that time period.

1-3 Socialization

1) *Tocha* (Tea Competition)

The conditions of medieval Japan—creation of wealth through the establishment of the manor system, the beginning of the era of warfare due to the advance of the *samurai*, and the absence of a unified government due to division of power—opened up a way to accumulate and waste wealth. Constructing large temples and producing luxurious handicrafts were ways in which the powerful shattered the system in order to maintain authority. Being able to do as one pleased with the resources of a region embodied wealth.

Emperor Shirakawa (end of 11th century to beginning of 12th century) monopolized the rights of people and changed politics as he saw fit. Not only did he order the acceptance of his favorite prime minister, he also made the prime minister's relatives and young children responsible for several regions; in reality, the emperor's favorite prime minister monopolized the rule of several regions of the country for

a long time. In one stroke, the work of the townspeople in these regions supported the increase and circulation of funds and resources in Kyoto (Hongo, pp. 24-26).

The *Basara* (Flamboyant) military commanders appeared during the Nanboku-cho period. They shared an attitude of resistance towards traditional culture. They favored eye-catching spectacular productions and performances, and they were overwhelmingly wasteful and had strange behavior. One representative of the *Basara* is Sasaki Doyo. Although he was strongly assertive, he was also a modern curator of arts such as *renga* (collaborative poetry), *Noh*, flower arrangement, and *Kodo* (incense appreciation).

Tocha, or tea competition, is known as *Basara* tea. *Tocha* became a fashionable pastime from the Kamakura to the Muromachi periods, and can be considered gambling entertainment. According to Koza (2009), the earliest text concerning *tocha* is in the June 5, 1333 entry of Emperor Hanazono's Diary. It described *tocha* as, "they had a competition of tea drinking. They bet on the genuine one. The participants must be able to tell the difference between each tea." In 1335's *Nijogawara Rakusho* (Graffiti Along Nijo River), which critiques and satirizes Emperor Godaigo's new government, the following passage is written: "the gatherings of tea competition were often held in Kamakura, and in the city of Kyoto, it increases popularity." Tea competition, which began in Kamakura, became quite fashionable in Kyoto, owing to the entry of the *samurai*. In 1336, there was also the following record: They call upon huge bets on *Cha-yoriai* [tea meeting]" (Koza, pp. 78-79).

The simplest form of *tocha* is comparing the current tea that one is drinking among five "real tea" types and five "non-real tea" types, based on production origin and quality, and identifying which it is. In the background of this trend, is the fact that there was an increase in the tea supply, and there was not much difference between the quality of real and non-real tea (Koza, p.79).

After this was the appearance of the more complicated *tocha*, using four types of tea. First, participants taste three types of tea, remember the taste, and guessed which one of the 10 teas (10 drinks) were the three types that they tasted. Since one of the teas among the choices had not been tasted, they should identify the one. Points were given if the order of the answers was correct, and participants competed for the highest number of points.⁷

As there are hundreds of types of real and non-real teas, some competitions were held from seven in

⁷ See Koza(2009), Nakamura(2006), Kodama(1992), and Yonehara (2016) for *tocha*

the evening until the next morning. Each competition had 10 participants, who took turns drinking. Participants were mostly politicians, *samurai*, and priests; however, among commoners, a similar competition was also spreading.

Although the above was the basis for *tocha*, there was no actual unified style; there were various styles of tea competitions depending on the time period and region. *Tocha* presided over by Sasaki Doyo was full of luxury. Participants gathered at a meeting place, then after drinks, a luxurious meal, and a walk through the garden, they moved to the castle tower with elaborate decorations and begin the competition. Afterwards, they had a drinking party while engaging in informal discussions. It was said that a spectacular vase was placed on a table covered with gold and leopard skin. Prizes include *kosode* (Japanese robes), agarwood/musk, gold dust, armor, and swords. Participants competed for gold and silver treasures. In addition, when hosting a cherry blossom party in Oharano, Sasaki placed a huge brass vase in front of the cherry blossoms, showing his penchant for living flowers placed in a vase.

Although in *tocha*, inviting anything that “disturbs morality” was prohibited, later in the Edo period, it was enacted as one of *chado*'s seven ceremonies, “*cha-kabuki*,” allowing it to remain in a different form.

2) *Shoin Cha* in the Early to Middle of the Muromachi Period: 14th Century

Shoin cha (tea provided at a daimyo's room) is a tea gathering whose purpose was to showcase a collection of expensive tools that came from China in the late Muromachi period. Meeting places also existed inside the castles of various *Daimyo* and the *Shogun*. In the case of large-scale areas, in 30 rooms of two to three meeting places, 700 tools were arranged. These decorations were said to have been influenced by Ashikaga decor. Although the various *Daimyo* established opportunities to welcome the *Shogun* and fulfill his needs, when the *shogun* visited *daimyo*'s, decorations meant for the *Shogun*'s house were displayed in the meeting place.

Like *tocha*, *shoin cha* is divided into three stages. The first stage is a meal and drinks; the second stage is a walk in the gardens, towards the tea room (with displays of a number of imported paintings from China, furnaces and kettles, tea pots, flower vases, and many other prestigious items); and, finally, tea was drunk. The third stage was a drinking party. The structure of this tea meeting became the prototype of the later *chanoyu*.

In the 15th century, parties called *chakai*, or tea gathering began to be held. At this time, certain traditions were being established, not only regarding drinking methods, but also invitation procedures (the

exchange of invitation and appreciation letters), floor decorations, and the placement of tools. Nevertheless, different variations existed depending on the host's preferences.

1-4 New Genre in *Chanoyu*

1) *Wabi Cha* Before Sen-no-Rikyu

In the latter half of the 15th century, *chakai* (*chanoyu* gathering) exhibited a big development with the birth of Juko Murata's *Wabi cha*. Having learned tea from Noami, who had developed tea meeting rooms for the Shogunate's house, it was through Juko's efforts that Yoshimasa Ashikaga was introduced to *chanoyu*.

Until that moment, *shoin cha* made use of imported tools from China, but the key point in *wabi cha* is how to incorporate Japanese tools. Juko's ideal was to “blur the boundaries between *wa* and *kan* (Japanese and Chinese);” that is, to arrange things Japanese with Chinese tools, leading to a “cold and withered landscape.”

At the time, the fashion was to create cottage-style sitting rooms in places such as public halls or *samurai* homes and *shogun* houses, and it was in such a small space that Juko spoke of *wabi cha* (Association of Cultural Studies on Chanoyu, 2012, p. 90). *Wabi* is a term that originally referred to “emotions evoked by the imperfect or incomplete state of an object.” It is similar to one's feeling of alienation due to a low class in society, or a feeling of being incomplete in one's daily life. This poor and rather negative definition of *wabi* was boldly interpreted in a positive light, in an aesthetic sense. In general, *chanoyu* meeting rooms at the time had a tendency to include luxurious additions like *sake* and a bath, and considering that tea was nothing but a supplemental drink, this was quite a change in direction. Afterwards, the *wabi cha* started by Juko became widespread due to the efforts of masters.

2) Sen-no-Rikyu's Innovation

Sen-no-Rikyu was born in 1522 as the eldest son of a warehouse/wholesale dried fish merchant in present-day Sakai city. At 14, he lost his father, and, becoming a lord in his teens, he needed a reliable mentor to look after him. His relationship with Tsuda Sotatsu (also known as Tennojiya), a renowned merchant who retired in his late 40s and left the management of his business to his son to become an advisor, has been noted (Association of Cultural Studies on Chanoyu, 2013, pp. 143-144). As Tsuda Sotatsu was a *chanoyu* master, it seems to have come naturally for the young Sen-no-Rikyu to become

familiar with *chanoyu*. Among the Sakai merchants at the time, *chanoyu* was an indispensable part of socialization.

While gaining strength as the favored merchant of the warring states' feudal lords, Sen-no-Rikyu's identity as a *chanoyu* master also unfolded. In 1568, under Nobunaga Oda, he was referred to as one of the three merchant-class *chanoyu* masters. After Oda Nobunaga's death, he served under Toyotomi Hideyoshi to be called "Manager of the core of the government."

As a *chanoyu* master, Sen-no-Rikyu made various innovations that can be organized into the following three points:

a) Transformation of the tea room

In the 15th century, tea rooms with a size around of 5.4-8.2 m², appropriate for *wabi-cha*, were popular, but Sen-no-Rikyu further minimized this to just 3.6 m² (the guest and front seating were each 1.8 m²). Traditional tea rooms used cypress columns, while Sen-no-Rikyu used cedar and pine logs for the surface pillars. The walls were earthen, blacked with soot, and slightly dim. Sen-no-Rikyu's Tai-an is a typical example; this tea room was built when Toyotomi Hideyoshi became the most powerful man who unified the nation in conflicts. The *nijiriguchi* (crawling-in entrance) was attached to a guest entrance to the tea room; the guest, even Toyotomi Hideyoshi, was required to bend their heads low to enter the room.

b) Design of tools

For his ideal *wabi-cha*, Sen-no-Rikyu had specifically designed tea bowls made (*raku-chawan*), and bamboo scoops, bamboo lids, and bamboo flowers were used as "favorites" in the *chanoyu* gatherings. Of the favorite tools, there were two types: for the first type, the dimensions and cuttings were specified by Sen-no-Rikyu himself, while the second type were created through an approximated design provided by Sen-no-Rikyu. In general, the shapes were simple, and the colors plain and solid.

Sen-no-Rikyu was not only a tea master with an aesthetic sense of beauty, but also a designer, for he created tools based on his own subjectivity and taste. They were also completely different from the traditional tools from China, for instead of being luxurious, they were considered cheap-looking and poor. In the *Nanporoku*, it is stated that "things that are not perfect in every way are good". This illustrates that there is value, not in the thing itself, but in the "sense," for example, of using a basket used by fishermen to put fish in for flower arrangement.

c) Emphasis on spirituality

Sen-no-Rikyu inserted spirituality and aesthetics into *chanoyu*, completely throwing away the pleasure

part. The tea room and the tools embody Sen-no-Rikyu's ideals. Although the spirituality is the same as Zen *cha*,

Chanoyu is a practice of living by the law of Buddhism. It is enough that one has something to eat and something to avoid rain. The real intention of *chanoyu*, and the teaching of Buddha. You carry water, obtain firewood, boil water, prepare tea, and serve it to the guest, drink tea for yourself, arranges flowers and incense... to learn the teaching of Buddha.

That is, it is important to learn *chanoyu* just as practice Buddhism. Real meaning of *chanoyu* lies in the practice of the teachings of Buddha.

First, even in the usual meeting, one must respect the host and behave like it was the first and last attendance. Making idle chatter are to be avoided. Some talk about the tea or taste is desirable. Next is about the host. He should treat his guest with such respect. Even when he has teas with usual fellow, he should regard his guest as *chanoyu* master. “(Records of Soji Yamanoue,” Kozu p. 166).

Even if it is just the usual *chanoyu* gathering, both guests and the host should respect each other; it is very important to be considerate with each other. Furthermore, there should be no idle talk; the conversation appropriate to *chanoyu* is allowed.

Here, this means that the one in control of the tea room is not the host, nor is it the guests, but the spirit of *chanoyu*. By bringing in the mental theory and superimposing it with Buddhist training (considering that the beginnings of the *chanoyu* were rooted in Zen, it was just returning to its origin), Sen-no-Rikyu raised the status of *chanoyu* from a tool for socializing to an actual purpose. Naturally, this also succeeded in greatly raising the position of the *chanoyu* master along with it.

The elements of *Basara* that had been accepted as natural parts of hospitality until that time—self-production, excess, understandability, flashiness, pleasure, wastefulness—were eliminated completely by Sen-no-Rikyu. Whereas the mainstream *chanoyu* gathering featured luxurious and beautiful arrangement of utensils, Sen-no-Rikyu made use of quite narrow and frugal tea rooms, and he was content serving using absolutely plain tea bowls. In other words, he denied the value standards of that era, while he himself set a new value standard—one that also went against the times. In this point, he established *chanoyu* in a high context culture, excluding things in a low context culture as elements of *omotenashi*.

From a different perspective, as opposed to a tool-centered *chanoyu*, Sen-no-Rikyu's *chanoyu*

centered on *temae* (the act of making tea in front of everyone). When the act (of making tea) itself became important, then rather than appreciating the actual tools, the understanding of *kata* became more essential. Therefore, the production of Sen-no-Rikyu's *chanoyu* was difficult for some to comprehend. He regarded subtlety as good, as avoiding explicitness. Sen-no-Rikyu was satisfied that only the person of high education and taste could understand his *omotenashi*.

In Sen-no-Rikyu's *chanoyu*, the host makes preparations based on his guests' tastes. It is ideal for guests to have their consideration understood, which tends to be overlooked at first glance. In traditional *chanoyu* gatherings, the host makes all the preparations and all the guest had to do was accept and enjoy everything passively, but as the gatherings transitioned into Sen-no-Rikyu's style, to raise their collective value, the importance of the role of the guest was redefined and emphasized. In other words, the value of the gathering, or “*ba*”, depend on the ability of the guests to understand the host's consideration and respond properly. Here the guest has responsibility to read the context provided by the host to enhance the value of the occasion.

Considering the developments that came afterward, perhaps Sen-no-Rikyu's *chanoyu* may have encouraged the spread, not only of *chanoyu*, but also of *chado*. Hence, knowledge and preparation are essential not only for the host (how to prepare and make tea) but also for the guests (how to behave as a guest). If *chanoyu* was only about instruction on *temae*, then attendance to training for *chado* would have been limited to particular people. However, since it also emphasized the role of a “guest,” all people in general (especially women) learned the manners and methods of the practice of *chado*, and from the establishment of the *Iemoto* family system up to the present time, *chado* has become an established business.

At the same time that Sen-no-Rikyu established an unparalleled status as a *chanoyu* master, his talent as a merchant was also fully demonstrated⁸. New tea from Kanbayashi, a newly emerging tea manufacturer in Uji was delivered to Sen-no-Rikyu. His satisfaction with the product is reflected in a letter where he asked them to deliver the tea put in the pot which he would send later. At the time, there was a system where various sample teas were sent in the harvest period of a new tea, and preferred teas were sent in a separate pot. Sen-no-Rikyu considered Kanbayashi's tea to be “the best,” and introduced customers to it, leading to many orders. In this way, Sen-no-Rikyu succeeded in selling Kanbayashi's tea to the people of

⁸ For detail description of Sakai City in those days, see Toyota (1966), Izumi(1977).

Sakai and expanding their sales channels. Nakamura reasons that Sen-no-Rikyu monopolized the purchase of Uji tea. (Association of Cultural Studies on Chanoyu,2013, p. 150).

Sen-no-Rikyu also delved in the manufacture and sales of *chado* tools. He mass-produced personally-designed tea scoops with a lot of undercutters in his bamboo tea scoop workshop. As the material was easy to obtain, it was natural for him to choose bamboo. Nakamura suggests that Sen-no-Rikyu treated tools such as the *chagama* (tea container) as products, and he stated that “for him *chanoyu* was not a hobby but a business.” (Association of Cultural Studies on Chanoyu, 2013, p. 152) Sen-no-Rikyu recognized that there was more than enough market value in his own brand. He probably also knew that being in a position close to an authority at the time increased the value of his brand.

When he started *chanoyu*, Sen-no-Rikyu was only one of many emerging merchants. At the time, the city of Sakai was becoming prominent in shipping, trade, and transportation. It was the center of material transactions, prospering in the production of woven fabrics, paper, and also western guns. Rich merchants had gorgeous mansions similar to those of a *Daimyo's*, showing off their wealth. As one of the top priorities for *Daimyo* was obtaining the power from Sakai merchants (during battle, their cooperation was indispensable for the transportation and supply of weapons, castle petitions, etc.), the position of the merchants was relatively high. Meanwhile, for the merchants, having connections with the *samurai* was also important. It was possible for the merchant to enter the government if he became a guru of *chanoyu*: *chanoyu* was inseparable from politics at that time, since *chanoyu* gathering was used as a place where the authority of the successor to the *shogun* was declared. Nakamura argues that for Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the golden tea room was also a symbol of his inheriting both *Shogun* Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (famous for *Kinkakuji*, or Golden pavilion) and *Shogun* Ashikaga Yoshimasa (famous for cultural taste). In any case, an exceptional *chanoyu* master was regarded as necessary in the government (Association of Cultural Studies on Chanoyu,2013, p. 162).

In Sakai, where there were many well-established merchants, the Sen family was still an emerging merchant; his power was weak in the industry. He did not have much in terms of expensive tea utensils. To survive and expand his power, Sen-no-Rikyu chose to change the rules of *chanoyu*. In the *chanoyu* gatherings of the past, possessing luxurious tools gives one an overwhelming advantage over others. Sen-no-Rikyu reversed this position, disregarding luxurious tools in favor of the simple, stating that the value was in their simplicity. By introducing a new value perspective to the tool-centric *chanoyu* gathering, and one that was quite the opposite of tradition, Sen-no-Rikyu opened up an entirely new genre of *chanoyu*.

Then, what are the reasons for the success of Sen-no-Rikyu's innovative strategy?

First, the era and social background should be mentioned. In the period when Sen-no-Rikyu lived, a stable authority was absent, and a paradigm shift occurred every time the rulers changed. The environment was such that it was relatively open to innovation.

Secondly, Sen-no-Rikyu had a strong connection with the person in power. As an emerging, weak, and small merchant himself, he was able to associate with emerging powers (like Toyotomi Hideyoshi), providing legitimacy to his own innovation. Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who became a powerful ruler by his own talent and wisdom (not by the blood), might have been close to the image of Sen-no-Rikyu himself.

Thirdly, on the part of the feudal lords and merchants, there must have been a potential need for Sen-no-Rikyu's *chanoyu* gatherings. Particularly in an era where it was difficult to distinguish between enemies and allies, Sen-no-Rikyu's small tea room could have been considered as a convenient place to confirm the intentions of someone without worrying about the existence of a third party.

1-5 After Sen-no-Rikyu to the Spread of Confucianism and *Chanoyu*

1) Establishment of the Feudal System

As mentioned previously, though there was not a large difference in the social classes during the Sengoku period, once the whole country was unified by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the difference between the *samurai* and townspeople's classes were made clear through policies such as sword hunting and inspection. In this period, where the establishment of the feudal system flourished, the character of *chanoyu* also greatly changed: *Buke-cha* (*samurai*-style *chanoyu*) was regarded as the mainstream *chanoyu*. In Sen-no-Rikyu's era, *chanoyu* was mainly considered to be for townspeople. Later, among Sen-no-Rikyu's successors, beginning with Furuta Oribe, Kobori Enshu, Katagiri Sekishu, and the tea masters associated with them, it was called *Daimyo* tea (feudal lord's *chanoyu*). They practiced *chanoyu* suitable to their own class and standing.

Before explaining about the *chanoyu* for Daimyo, let us look at social background and Confucianism, which became the basis for *chanoyu* at the time.

In the Edo period, the shogunate system was gradually established; after Tokugawa Iemitsu (the 3rd *shogun*) was able to take total control of the country, the organization of the bureaucracy was greatly improved in the rule of the 4th *shogun*. A peaceful era began, and the shogunate sets up the concept of government ruled by knowledge and wisdom (that is, without military power). As the 5th *shogun*

encouraged Neo-Confucianism, and learned it himself, Confucian scholars were empowered to express their opinions as political advisers. Within their domain, schools were created, allowing Confucianism to penetrate nationwide. In this way, the philosophy in the feudal system, which made the patriarch absolute, penetrated deeply among the general population, most especially within the *samurai*, where Confucianism is connected to the *Bushido* (way of the *samurai*) spirit, and became an essential part in the academic studies of those entering politics.

Confucianism asserts the idea of “ruling not by military force, but by virtue.” It explains that people need to build their relationships as couples, fathers and sons, friends, and young and old by cultivating the five moralities: benevolence, justice, courtesy, wisdom, and sincerity. The Edo Neo-Confucianism school, which was valued by the shogunate, further advanced Confucianism, which in turn further emphasized the difference in the upper and lower classes of society. It must have been a convenient academic discipline for maintaining the existing feudal system. As the Confucianist scholars gained power as political advisers in the shogunate and in various clan domains, the manager of *chanoyu*, which boasted enough power to penetrate the government during the time of Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, quickly lost its presence.

2) *Bukecha* (Samurai-style *Chanoyu*)

Furuta Oribe was a *chanoyu* master who became active during the establishment of the shogunate system. He provided guidance on tea to Toyotomi Hideyoshi after the death of Sen-no-Rikyu, but Toyotomi Hideyoshi ordered him to “reform *chanoyu* according to the *samurai*'s preferences (not those of townspeople).” Furuta Oribe came up with a form called *sukiya onari* in *chanoyu* for greeting the *shogun* or *Daimyo*. They should enter the room not from the main gate, as before, but through the garden from *sukiya* gate directly connected the tearoom. Here, the participants enjoy first tea briefly, and then move to a secondary room, a *kusarinoma* (chain room), where the meals are served. Then, they leave the room and exits through the *sukiya* gate. It was suitable for the *shogun* and nobles who liked to go out under an incognito. Whereas Sen-no-Rikyu's ideal for the tea room was equality of the classes, Furuta Oribe set out a formal tea style suitable for his social class. In addition, Furuta Oribe set up many windows in his tea room, lighting up the inside of the room. Both the tea room and the tools used were playful, dynamic, free of tension, and left quite a different impression compared to Sen-no-Rikyu's.

Kobori Enshu served Tokugawa Ieyasu and played an active role as bureaucrat of the shogunate. Civil

wars and conflicts had already ended, and the Tokugawa family's rule was already established. The resulting *chanoyu* that Kobori Enshu created reflected the era: a new style of *chanoyu* which was refined suitable for *samurai*. With his dedication of tea to the 3rd *shogun*, Kobori Enshu's style of tea gained shogunate authorization and became a major school of the later *Daimyo chado*. In his own life, it is said that under Kyoto government rule, Enshu had connections with the administrations of the Omi and Tamba provinces, taking charge of lawsuits in those areas. Such a career was also heavily involved in his *chanoyu* and his position as a *chanoyu* master. (Kuwata,1990,pp. 74-85; Tanihata,2007,pp. 128-30)

Kobori Enshu's tea is characterized by the use of a large room, with decorations in the *shoin* style.⁹ The tools used included ink calligraphy scrolls by Daitokuji priests, Fujiwara no Teika's painted scrolls, and his own favorite pottery works. Kobori Enshu incorporated moral philosophy in his *chado*, stating that “it is a means to cultivate one's self, a place to train for one's prosperity.” For example, he said “The teachings of *chanoyu* are follows: Be faithful to your master and father to the best of your ability. Be diligent in your own business. Do not make light of your old friends.” For Kobori Enshu, morality was nothing more than a code of conduct in the feudal system made in order for bureaucrats to behave properly. It was similar to the spirituality of Sen-no-Rikyu. Yao (2007) points out that Kobori Enshu offered *chanoyu* gatherings an example of an ideal place of mutual exchanges between *samurai*.

Katagiri Sekishu, a *chado* master of the Edo Shogunate, established the regulation of the *ryuei chado* (*chado* of *bakufu*), and was the leader of *Daimyo chado* at the time.¹⁰ Due to the fact that he was ordered to reconstruct the Chion-in temple, he was in contact with Kobori Enshu and the others. Unlike Furuta Oribe and Kobori Enshu, Katagiri Sekishu's *wabi cha* was similar to Sen-no-Rikyu's, and made use of the tools Sen-no-Rikyu preferred. He stated that the real *suki* is something natural, outside the capacity of human.

On the other hand, Katagiri Sekishu did not take the same standpoint as Sen-no-Rikyu in his concept of “equality in the tea room.” Katagiri Sekishu respected each person's position (class), and emphasized that there was a tea that was appropriate for each social class. “There is something good in rustic *chanoyu*, but that appearing rustic on purpose is not good; it is not proper for a *daimyo* to imitate the *chanoyu* of the lower class.”

As to the meaning of *sabi*, he stated that a *daimyo* should behave like a *daimyo*, and a merchant should

⁹ See Shimauchi(2001)

¹⁰ See Tanihata(2007), pp. 160-65; Shimaushi(2005).

behave like a merchant.¹¹ While being heavily influenced by Sen-no-Rikyu's *Wabi cha*, Katagiri Sekishu was not just imitating it; rather, he emphasized that a person should be “aware of his status.” Thus, there was a *wabi* for the *daimyo*, while the townspeople themselves had their own *wabi*. Katagiri Sekishu was the top in *Daimyo chado* as he dedicated tea to the 4th *shogun*. His ideal *wabi* derived from Sen-no-Rikyu, but he would not think about chanoyu transcend the social classes. As a *Daimyo*, he regarded *wabi* as a virtue to train his own mentality and sensibility.

We have witnessed how these three *chanoyu* masters—Furuta Oribe, Kobori Enshu, and Katagiri Sekishu—lead each of their respective eras. In the following chart, I have once again arranged their differences versus Sen-no-Rikyu's tea.

Table 6-1 changes of values in development of *chanoyu*

	Sen-no-Rikyu	Oribe	Enshu	Sekishu
Spirituality	<i>Wabi</i> (finding beauty and significance in something humble or commonplace)	lighthearted	<i>Kireisabi</i> (Clean rusticity)	Sekishu <i>Wabi</i> Sekishu's 300 Articles
Participants	Townspeople/Feudal lords	<i>Samurai</i>	<i>Samurai</i> (+ priests)	<i>Samurai</i>
Human Relationships	Equality (compatibility with guests)	Noblemen are separated	In order of social class	Segmented accordingly (social classes)
Tea Room	3.6 m ² , <i>nijiriguchi</i>	Window, change (transfer)	Hall, display of tools	Simple (Sen-no-Rikyu style)
Value of participation	Perfecting aesthetics Demonstrate culture, hobby Personal network beyond status	<i>Samurai</i> education (a new style completely different from Sen-no-Rikyu's tea)	Place of <i>Daimyo</i> exchange, cultivating the morality of the <i>samurai</i> , formal <i>samurai</i> hobby	Strict spirituality, traditional entertainment, type with decreased social meaning
Community	Strong (Sen-no-Rikyu's preference)	<i>Sosho</i> (Teacher), <i>meijin</i> (Master)	Authorized by Iemitsu	<i>Shogun chanoyu</i> master
Connection to Sen-no-Rikyu		Disciple (one of seven disciples of	Great-disciple (learned from Oribe)	Great-great-disciple (Sen-no-Rikyu→Doan→Sosen)

¹¹ From ancient times, *sabi* was a word that referred to *okinasabi* (elderly behavior), *otomesabi* (maidenly behavior), and “behaving as one's self, as appropriate.”

		Sen-no-Rikyu)		
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Furuta Oribe, Kobori Enshu and Katagiri Sekishu shared the philosophy of the feudal system.” Though he was a disciple of Sen-no-Rikyu, Furuta Oribe disregarded “equality in the tea room” as advocated by his master in favor of adapting class-orientedness in *chanoyu*. Kobori Enshu thought that “devoting oneself to one’s lord,” as a morality must be cultivated through *chanoyu*. Katagiri Sekishu, whilst showing a preference for items such as the tools in Sen-no-Rikyu's *wabi*, was in fact insistent on a class-oriented *chanoyu*. As *Daimyo* who serve under the shogunate, it was natural that they attempted to make a contribution to strengthening the shogunate's administration. What they disseminated was “*chanoyu* that is suitable to the *samurai*,” in other words, “*chanoyu* of Confucianism.”

In this way, by *bukecha* they taught “class-orientedness,” which supported feudalism. Also, in a peaceful society, since culture is more important than martial arts, in the shogunate system, *chanoyu* was associated with *Bushido*, and was encouraged as an opportunity for *samurai* to acquire formal and cultural values. In addition, Matsudaira Fumai, a *chanoyu* master of the Katagiri Sekishu style, remarked:

Chanoyu...shall assist in governing the nation-state. You should train your mind, build on cleanliness and integrity, have decency, to realize harmony without distinction between friend and stranger, noble and poor. To govern your people, you should remember that.

He taught that *chanoyu* was useful in governing the nation-state, and the leaders should utilize the way of *chanoyu*. Famous names such as Matsudaira Sadanobu and Ii Naosuke, who contributed greatly to politics, were not only excellent *chanoyu* masters, but published the philosophy on *chanoyu*.

In the Edo period, the *samurai* ruled by Confucianism, so did Zen disappear? That was not the case. Zen survived as mandatory learning for *samurai*, and as a means for self-cultivation. Originally from the Middle Ages, there were many priests who studied Confucianism, and they were prominent during the Edo period when Confucian teachings became popular. Most especially for the Edo period *samurai*, rather than perfecting Buddha's teachings, Zen had a deeper meaning of a severe training to get to know oneself. In this respect, *samurai*-oriented *chanoyu*, which started with Furuta Oribe and others, was once again linked to Zen as a place to support self-cultivation, which was appropriate for politicians.

3) Revival of the Townspeople's *Chanoyu*

As the peaceful era began and the feudal structures settled, when it became the *Daimyo*'s role to give guidance on *chado* to the shogunate, the townspeople's *chanoyu* was also affected. During the *sengoku*

period, even townspeople could teach *chanoyu* to a *Daimyo* without any regard to social class, as long as they were capable. However, during the Edo era, when the feudal system by the shogunate was established where social class became a major prerequisite, *chanoyu* gatherings organized by the shogunate were held. *Chanoyu* was raised to formality through the establishment of rules. It became impossible for the townspeople to freely teach *chanoyu* to *samurai* as before, without regard to social class. They could do nothing but liven up the place of *chanoyu* gathering as a mere member of *chanoyu* staff.

In response to these circumstances, the *Iemoto* system was introduced and developed. The *Iemoto* system was a hierarchical system based on hereditary legitimacy, where a blood relationship was assumed between a master (teacher) and his disciple, as in the meaning of “*ie* (house)” in Confucianism. There was a strict order gap between an older disciple and a younger disciple, and they were bound by grace and obligation. Absolute power (and economic power) was concentrated in the *Iemoto*, and control of the higher and lower ranks was laid out¹².

By creating a pyramid structure with the *Iemoto*, that is, Head of the family, put on the top the townspeople's *chanoyu* was also gained authority. In the *Iemoto* system, the *chanoyu* instructors were the “father,” and the disciples who learned *chanoyu* together under him were the “big brothers” (senior students) and “younger brothers” (junior students). One had to be faithful to the father and respect older brothers. In addition, senior students had to help their younger brothers. In this respect, Confucian values became the foundation of *chanoyu*, not only for the *samurai*, but also for the townspeople.¹³ A kind of brand community was established, which continues to this day. In contrast, there was no hereditary system in *bukecha*. This may be a consideration as to why *bukecha* has not, relatively, developed since the Meiji period.

¹² See Yamagishi (1959).

¹³ Hirota states, “In *Noh*...it can be considered that many amateur disciples are actors as well as viewers. In the case of *chanoyu*, that boundary becomes more vague, and the position of *chanoyu* master and guest can be easily interchanged. In other words, the culture's producers and consumers are interchangeable, and it is the culture type that secures it. If one is able to learn acting to a certain extent, then one can act the way an amateur does. This self-contained cultural area where producers and consumers have a back-to-back relationship can easily tolerate the existence of *Iemoto*.” (p. 34)

1-6 Conclusion

It has already been discussed that after the World War II, *chado* was used to raise the culture of nationalism in Japan. However, *chado* or *chanoyu* had already been influenced by previous trends in past periods, and has been used as a means to support the social system.

Oda Nobunaga tried to show his legitimacy by presiding *chanoyu* gatherings using tools owned by the Muromachi shogunate. He had also established a system to permit holding *chanoyu* gathering, in order to clarify the order, and stabilize the regime. He also granted special *chanoyu* utensils to those with achievements in wars. To those who rendered more distinguished services, he allowed *chanoyu* gatherings to be held using the special utensils he had given. As a result, Oda Nobunaga created a hierarchy in his followers. For the followers, showing off the tools meant showing off power.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi held the Grand Kitano Chanoyu, a grand scale event in which everyone could participate. He utilized the event to make an appeal for peace and equality. With the unparalleled *chanoyu* gathering, he declared establishment of system.

In the case of both Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, *chanoyu* gatherings were used politically. It was exactly because *chanoyu* was viewed as useful for maintaining political power and authority that the practitioners and teachers, such as Sen-no-Rikyu, held political voices. However, when the era transitioned into a society based on the feudal system, townspeople including Sen-no-Rikyu lost their place to play an active part in the administration. They found their way through the *Iemoto* system. With the *Iemoto* system, *chanoyu* or *chado* survived to the present as accomplishment to be good brides or as qualification to live on among women. Meanwhile, *bukecha* of the ruling feudal system gradually declined, though a part of its schools were revived by incorporating the *Iemoto* system,.

The table 6-2 summarized the changes of experiential value of *chanoyu* according to the historical development.

Table6-2 Transition of the Chanoyu Experiential Value

Historical Period	Participants	Venue	Name	Purpose/Experience Value	Keywords
Nara-Heian (Manyo)	Imperial court	Residence		Enjoying Chinese culture, state-of-the-art fashion, show of culture	Chinese culture
Heian Period	Zen priest	Zen temple	Zen tea	Elements to accurately protect	<i>Sarei</i> , Zen medicinal use and

				purity; practical use: health and longevity, awakening effect	spirituality
Muromachi Period	<i>Daimyo</i> /priest	<i>Kissatei</i> (chanoyu room)	<i>Tocha</i>	Show financial strength, self- produced, maintain relationships, simple entertainment, no ceremonies	<i>Basara</i> . gambling, alcohol, display of tools
Muromachi & Sengoku Periods	<i>Samurai</i> , priest	Gathering place	<i>Shoincha</i>	Showing off power, financial strength, building/maintaining relationships	Focus on tools, legitimacy, authority
Azuchi-momoyama	Merchant	Tea room	<i>Wabicha</i>	Part of Zen training, spirituality, showing of one's good taste	<i>Temae</i> is front and center, aesthetics (<i>Renga</i> , <i>Noh</i>)
Azuchi-momoyama	No social class difference	Tea room	(Sen-no- Rikyu)	Political value: for <i>Shogun</i> : as a place for secret political talks, a means of maintaining order; for the <i>Daimyo</i> : as a place for secret political talks, to belong to the Shogunate circle; an essential element of a <i>Daimyo</i> Merchant: to build vertical (upward and downward) relationships; Sen family: connection with politicians, to show political presence	Personal, business, + political connections; equality in the tea room; period of <i>gekokujo</i> ; Nobunaga: policy on <i>chanoyu</i> ; clarification of hierarchy); Hideyoshi: Grand <i>Kitano Cha</i> (appeal for peace, equality) authority, politics
Edo Period	<i>Daimyo</i>		<i>Bukecha</i>	Moral cultivation suitable for <i>samurai</i> , improvement of quality as a government official, mutual exchanges between <i>samurai</i> , mental training	Feudal system, Confucianism, class-oriented tea, <i>Ryuei</i> tea gathering (shogunate) formalization

As mentioned previously, *chanoyu* has developed with two trends: *chanoyu* for socialization and

entertainment, with a focus on tools; and *chanoyu* for spirituality that pursues aesthetics and ideal. *Chanoyu* of showing the tools is easy to understand, and anyone can participate. In contrast, *chanoyu* for spirituality is complicated and hard to understand. Participants should learn the *temae* and rules to enjoy it. In other words, *chanoyu* in a low-context culture is for socialization, while *chanoyu* in a high-context culture is for spirituality. *Chanoyu* has changed its character from a low-context culture to a high context culture in accordance with the changing times. Spiritual *chanoyu* was dominant by Sen-no-Rikyu, though there have been various kinds of *chanoyu*, both in a high context culture and in a low context culture. Due to the Europeanization policy of the Meiji government, *chanoyu* faced an unprecedented danger of survival.

2 *Sukisha* in the Modern Times

2-1 The Appearance of *Sukisha* (Connoisseur)

Due to the Meiji Restoration, the environment surrounding the *chanoyu* has suddenly changed. In lieu of the *chanoyu* authorities that had traditionally played the leading roles in *chanoyu*, *sukisha*, or connoisseurs appeared as influential people. The noun of *sukisha* is not clearly defined, it is considered to refer to the people who enjoy *chanoyu* as they like (Yamasaki, pp. 111-2). When used as “modern *sukisha*” the noun has a more distinct image. As will be described later, influential people in the politics or business circle in those days collected the valuable *chanoyu* goods which had scattered from the storehouses of the noble people, and presided over the *chanoyu* meetings to show off their *chanoyu* utensils. They made tea in their own way without regard to any school of *chanoyu*, including Ura-senke or Omote-senke. For them, such an attitude to *chanoyu* was considered as good and desirable. Many of the *sukisha* had experience of visiting Europe and the United States, had their ways of thinking and acting were largely influenced by them. Many had not been profoundly acquainted with traditional Japanese culture and art from the beginning. They collected *chanoyu* goods with some reasons. What kind of influence did those attitudes have on their *chanoyu*?

In this chapter, I will clarify the characteristics of *chanoyu* of modern *sukisha* from the perspective of the style in which *sukisha* enjoyed and how they changed *chanoyu*. Thus, the question is: how *chanoyu* held by *sukisha* was different in mechanism of creating values from *chanoyu* which Sen-no-Rikyu established. The influence of *sukisha* on the contemporary business of Japan will be also mentioned in this chapter.

2-2 Historical background

First of all I would like to give a brief overview of the historical background.

1) Due to the Meiji Restoration and the westernization policy, the traditional Japanese culture has become less popular. In the society in general, there was a tendency to value the Western culture and belittle the Japanese culture. Tea masters have also declined, as the number of their students has drastically decreased. The fact that *chanoyu* was one of the most obsolete things in those days was well known even among commoners.

2) In the Edo period, influential samurai, Daimyo and upper rank citizens were patrons of *chanoyu*, but

because of the political, economic and social loss of power by the Meiji Restoration, the people who supported the *chanoyu* disappeared.

3) The price of *chanoyu* utensils also fell. Many masterpieces scattered from the storehouses of the fallen Daimyo and others. They often dealt in the *chanoyu* utensils under foreclosure.

In this era, emerging capitalists had great power. During their visits abroad, they learned that local traditional art items were considered as valuable. After returning home, they found out that the Japanese art works are wrongly belittled. They decided to collect them as they had extraordinary financial strength as well as the investor's sense: they expected that the prices of the *chanoyu* items would soar in the future.

Chanoyu was revived by the *sukisha* in 1870s. The visit of Emperor Meiji to the *cha shitsu* (tea room) which Kaoru Inoue opened in 1887 provided a proper reason why *chanoyu* should be recognized as a top hobby among upper class people at the time.

2-3 What is modern *sukisha*?

1) *chanoyu* with focus on tools

Many modern *sukisha* appeared after the 1900s. They were super elites in the politics and business circle including emerging business people who enjoy *chanoyu* as a hobby. They shared a strong interest in "collecting" the utensils more than *chanoyu* itself. It is noteworthy that many of the *sukisha* had overseas experience and watched the Japanese traditional arts and tools of *chanoyu* through a foreigner's eyes. As nationalism was restored around 1887, the business people expected that the prices of the tea goods would soar again. As a result, they became fascinated with collecting them as a kind of upfront investment (Harada, p. 32). In many cases, they were not originally interested in art, but driven by the desire to obtain unusual, expensive things. Occasionally they fought a fight over the tools for their own prestige. When one learned that a museum piece would be sold, he tried to outdo his rival. When he acquired the rare object, he held a *chanoyu* gathering to show off the item. Rival *sukisha* never hesitated to express their frustration and regret. He made up his mind to get some more expensive one for himself next time. The rumor that who bought it, how much he paid for it became a cool topic among the *sukisha*.

What is important is that the *sukisha* put focus on "the tools." For them, the aesthetics and philosophy of *chanoyu* which Sen-no-Rikyu pursued was secondary; they simply enjoyed showing the unusual, expensive items as a "good hobby."

2) Representative *Sukisha*

Saito (2007) lists 187 people as modern *sukisha*, although not by a strict standard. According to Saito, the majority is the business people (77.1%), and the people in the political world and the public sector were relatively few (10.7%), although their influences were large.

Here are the major *sukisha* who had a particularly great influence.

- Segai (Inoue Kaoru) : Origin from Choshu clan volunteer samurai. Believed in opening the country to the world. In the Meiji government he entered the Ministry of Finance and played an active role. Contributed to the new currency system, metrology system, establishment of trade company, establishment of bank, railway construction etc. As a foreign minister, he made efforts to revise the unequal treaty. He was an awesome presence in the political and business world until die of disease in 1915. Efforts in promoting industry and capitalism, as well as establishing the capitalist class in Japan. He was also the leading player in Europeanization policy. Advocated the founding of Imperial Hotel. Inoue found the value of traditional art during his visit to Europe, spreading *chanoyu* to the emerging upper class.

- Donnou (Masuda Takashi) : Former a shogunate retainer. Had some experienced of visiting the European countries at a young age, as he accompanied with his father. Supported by Inoue, he made an active role in the business world. When Mitsui & Co. was founded, he became president of the company. Established Mitsui Zaibatsu. Became interested in *chanoyu* as collecting the utensils. Presided over the *chanoyu* club called "Daishi-kai." At that time the Daishi-kai was the power among *sukisha*. The invitation to the Daishi-kai was considered to be a kind of the certification of the business world elite.

- Kasei (Makoshi Kyohei) : Raised from the house of a country doctor and served as an executive in Mitsui & Co. Established Dai Nippon Beer Company. Through a friendship with Masuda, he was fascinated with *chanoyu*.

- Kosetsu (Fujita Densjiuro) : Came from Choshu. Former soldier of Kiheitai (irregular militia). Dealt in firearms and bullets since the Meiji Revolution. Became the military merchant patronized by the imperial army. Earned a good fortune in the civil war. Founded the Fujita construction company group and became a major owner of the Kansai economy.

- Matsuo (Yasuda Zenjiro) : Came from Toyama. Engaged in business, he succeeded in currency exchange business. Established a bank. He assumed the director the Bank of Japan.

- Soan (Takahashi Yoshio) : explained later in detail.

- Seizan (Nezu Kaichiro) : From a wealthy farmer in Yamanashi. After being a village council, prefectural

assembly councilor, delegate, he became a member of the House of Lords. Later he went to the railroad industry. Made the slumping Tobu Railway the first private railway in Kanto area, and at the same time, he became the biggest role in the private railway field. He was also famous as art collector.

• Ichiou (Kobayashi Ichizo) : Came from Yamanashi. Graduated from Keio University to Mitsui Bank, where he worked under Takahashi. Established Mino Arima Electric Railroad and developed it into Hankyu Railway company.

3) The background of *Sukisha* and reason why they joined

What made them become *sukisha*? I examined the background of about 20 representative *sukisha* covered by Kumakura (1997) and Harada (1971) to find that many learned about chanoyu and turned out to be *sukisha* after they entered the society, while few had an innate quality of *sukisha* (originated from public houses or Daimyo, etc.).

Then, for what reasons did they start *chanoyu* after going to society? Some were invited by their friends and seniors in the circle to the chanoyu gathering, while many people enjoyed collecting the *chanoyu* tools first. For example, seeing the traditional culture pieces and objects of art treasured in the country they visited, they got interested in the Japanese traditional art. In other cases, they got interested in *chanoyu* because the collection of *chanoyu* tools has become popular in the elites in the politics, government and business. In other words, *sukisha* practiced *chanoyu* based on the (showing off) utensils.

For *sukisha*, *chanoyu* was one of the crucial means for acquiring a connection with powerful persons. At that time, the *chanoyu* gathering was regarded as a kind of social club, and the host was satisfied with showing off his status and influence, while the guest was pleased to get a certification to be a member of the elite class.¹ In this point, *chanoyu* of the modern *sukisha* had similar values to the *chanoyu* of the Muromachi period and the Sengoku period. It would also be remembered that the wealthy merchants made use of *chanoyu* gatherings as business negotiation in the Azuchi-Momoyama period.

4) Characteristics of *Sukisha*'s chanoyu

The features of the *sukisha*'s *chanoyu* are summarized as follows.

(a) *Chanoyu* gathering was considered to be a place to show off the expensive tools that the person got.

¹ In the Edo period there were places of socializing where the upper-level townspeople played, the *sukisha*'s *chanoyu* replaced them.

- (b) *Chanoyu* gathering was also regarded as the place of business negotiation.
- (c) The host and the guest enjoyed secular talk. They exchanged sarcasm, humor and revenge expressed in a straightforward way. One example is: one person chose the tool with the name of the *geisha* who was the lover of his main guest in order to embarrass him.
- (d) Neither host nor guest suppressed his emotion, and there were many quarrels. They enjoyed gossip.
- (e) Not as in the era of Sen-no-Rikyu, the participants do not need high education of classical literature for reading the consideration of the host.
- (f) They enjoyed new attempts, such as *chanoyu* with songs and dancing.
- (g) They did not hesitate to destroy or adapt tools; it was regarded as new value.
- (h) They enjoyed *chanoyu* without sticking to schools. In addition, there are very few *sukisha* who had connection with Urasenke. That's why Urasenke had to explore new ways for survival.
- (i) They splurged on building tea room according to their tastes. They were also interested in making garden.

Sukisha did not appreciate tradition and *kata*, rather they dared to ignore the value of tradition nor *kata*. In accordance with their own sense of values, they arranged *chanoyu* freely. For them, *kata* was nothing but a superficial form, procedure and routine. They did not find any meaning there.

According to Sen-no-Rikyu, the guests were required to understand the deep intent of the host from the host's casual behavior and arrangements of the tools, while *sukisha* was also indifferent to the responsibility of the guests. Partly due to acceptance of western-style communication, their practice of *chanoyu* was easy to understand for anyone.

5) The *chanoyu* gatherings of *sukisha* and Sen-no-Rikyu's *chanoyu*

The comparison between them is shown below. (Figure6-1 and 6-2)

Figure6-1 Rikyu-s Chanoyu

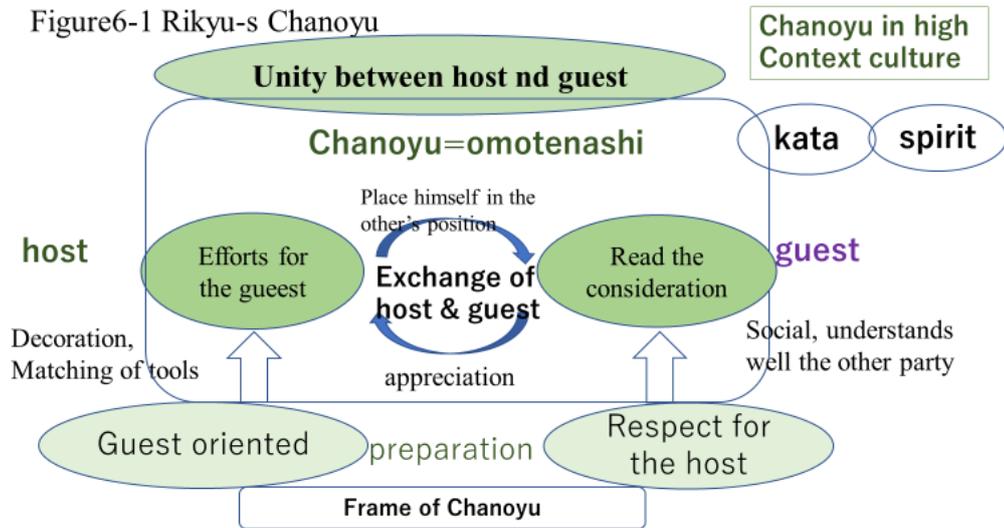
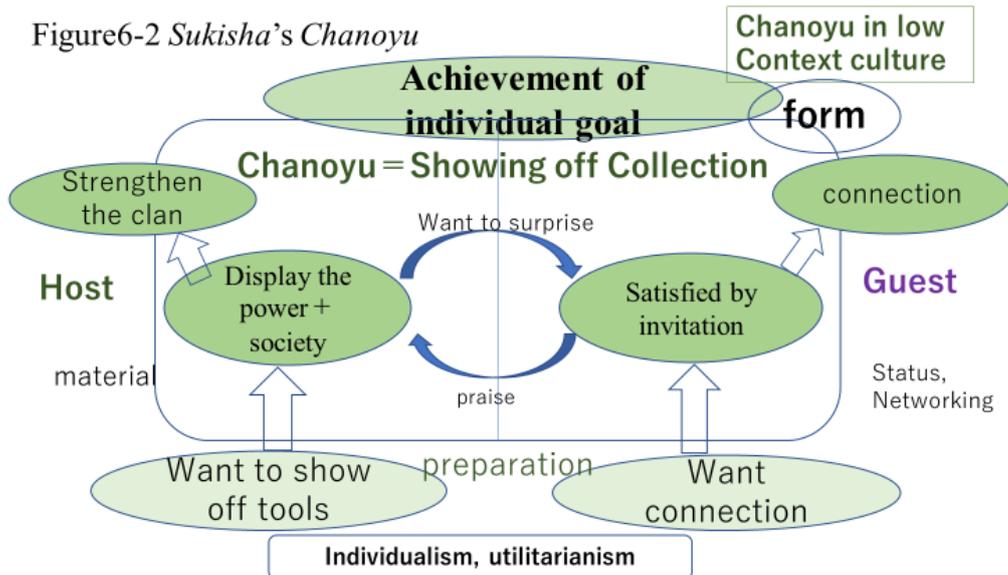


Figure6-2 Sukisha's Chanoyu



2-4 Soan: a promoter of modern *chanoyu*

1) Biography of Soan

I would like to deal with Takahashi Soan, who was a representative of *sukisha*, and had a particularly significant impact on the business community. His business projects led to realization of omotenashi

customer service (in business practice).²

Takahashi was from samurai clan in Mito. At the time, the samurai class collapsed and most of them had difficulty in earning their livings. Takahashi worked with a kimono store as child apprentice. In 1881, when Fukuzawa Yukichi created the newspaper named *Jiji Shinpo*, he decided it was necessary to foster excellent journalists. Takahashi was chosen as scholarship students at Keio University by Fukuzawa. After graduating in 1882, Takahashi became a journalist of the *Jiji Shinpo* Shimbun. Fukuzawa valued his talent, and let him oversee the drafts or write editorials. In 1887, he went to the United States to study the situation of commerce and business in the country. Two years later, he wrote *British Customs* and *The Renewal of Commerce and Policy*. Due to the appreciation of Inoue who read those books, Takahashi joined Mitsui & Co.

At that time, Japanese capitalism was stalling, and Inoue attempted to bail out Mitsui that was in crisis. By Inoue's inviting, Nakakamigawa Hikojiro (who was a nephew of Fukuzawa) embarked on a great reform of Mitsui. Takahashi was appointed by Inoue as a person in charge of the reform office personnel. He joined Mitsui Bank in 1891, when the kimono retailing business of Mitsui had been stagnating. Once separated from Mitsui, it became a Mitsui company again in 1895, though it did not lift the company's fortune. Takahashi was entrusted with restructuring its kimono store. As the de facto director, Takahashi made use of his views in the United States and worked on reforming the kimono store, trying to make it a modern department store. (However, Takahashi did not realize the project fully because of the resistance of the employees) In 1904, when the kimono retailing business became separated from Mitsui to be an independent Mitsukoshi Kimono Store, Takahashi invited Hibi Osuke (who was assistant manager of Mitsui Bank) to Mitsukoshi Department Store as his right hand. It is Hibi Ouske who established a department store, though with a basic design which Takahashi was the first to draw. After leaving Mitsukoshi Department Store in 1906, Takahashi became president of some companies in the Mitsui group and retired from the real industry at the age of 50.

Takahashi came to know *chanoyu* in 1895, five years after entering Mitsui. Around this time, he moved from Mitsui Bank in Osaka to Mitsui kimono store in Tokyo. Invited by Masuda Katsunori (Donno's younger brother) he took an interest in *chanoyu*. When he moved to Tokyo, Takahashi built a *chanoyu* room in his house. As many influential figures attended at the opening party of the tea room, he was

² In this section on Takahashi, I mainly relied on Kumakura(1997) and Suzuki(2000).

recognized as authority of *sukisha*. The momentum for revival of *chanoyu* had increased.

2) Contribution of Takahashi to the development of *chanoyu*

Takahashi worked hard to popularize *chanoyu*. His greatest achievement is *Records of Chanoyu Gatherings* which he serialized on the *Jiji Shimpo*. Generally, records of *chanoyu* gatherings centered on the arrangement of utensils and scrolls, without mentioning the atmosphere and conversation at the *chanoyu* gathering. Takahashi wrote about the real atmosphere and conversation between the host and guests, as well as arrangement of the utensils. The reader of the newspaper could imagine the conversation between the influential people of the business world which otherwise they could not learn about. Takahashi also talked about *chanoyu* in the radio program. In the program, Takahashi invited listeners to his imaginative *chanoyu* gathering without explaining rigid manual.

When considering the accomplishment of Takahashi as the *sukisha* we should not overlook the relationship with Mitsukoshi of which he developed the basic framework as its department store. Takahashi modeled on retail shops in the United States that he inspected in 1896. He reformed features of sales (to showing display sales), personnel affairs (employing educated newcomers, commuting, salary system), and financial aspects (that is, purchasing, bookkeeping). (Jinno,2015, p.40) Takahashi regarded *chanoyu* as a "hobby" different from spiritual discipline. Kumakura (1997) and Jinno (1994) found secularity in Takahashi's view of *chanoyu*. Takahashi himself stated the hobby of *chanoyu* as "opposed to economic activity," though he did not give up the interest in the *chanoyu* tools especially with financial value.

Jinno wrote as follows: "When we consider Takahashi's attitude toward *chanoyu*, it is important that his appreciation of *chanoyu* and art objects has not been innately shown since he was a child, but it was acquired in the real industry." (Jinno, 2015, p. 57) Takahashi held to the theory that top-notch business people should have appropriate "hobbies." He thought that *chanoyu* or collection of masterpieces was just right choice for such a hobby.

In the early days, the original customers of Mitsukoshi were mostly the upper-class people. And then, people in the middle class became passionate about shopping at Mitsukoshi. Takahashi offered them the *chanoyu* utensils and objects of art as the proper hobby for them. The middle-class customers who had strong upward mobility accepted what was suggested at Mitsukoshi. (Jinno,1994 pp. 57 - 8) Thus, in the

early stages, Mitsukoshi had a strong relationship with *chanoyu* in a materialistic sense. The westernized viewpoint Takahashi had through the experience in the United States reflected there. The relationship between Mitsukoshi and *chanoyu* will be discussed again in Chapter 7.

Let us Remember *Record of Chanoyu* written by Takahashi mentioned above. Takahashi has expanded the experiences of *chanoyu* to the masses by making most of the newspaper and the Mitsukoshi store as effective medium. However, at this stage, *chanoyu* was spread only among middle class, and it was Shiotsuki Yaeko of Urasenke who published best seller books on manners for women readers to introduce *chanoyu* or *chado* to the women that diffused *chado* to the commoners.

2-5 Conclusion

Takahashi offered *chanoyu* to the customers at Mitsukoshi as good hobby suitable for the upper-class people. The middle-class people who consisted of the customers greedily accepted the example shown by Mitsukoshi. As strongly interested in how to behave as gentlemen, men of the middle class at that time were attempted to model on the business elite who had good hobbies, in other words, *sukisha*. The wives of them were keen on fashioning themselves after the upper-class ladies (Jinno, 2015, PP. 40-48). The fact supports both the trickle-down theory in which Simmel argued epidemics would spread from the top to the bottom of the social class, as well as the cultural capital theory in which Bourdieu discussed the acquisition of culture from the perspective of social stratum.

The conversion of Mitsukoshi into the modern department store was completed by Hibi Osuke.³Hibi Osuke was born as a child of samurai in Kurume. After graduating from Keio University, he joined Mitsui Bank, and moved to Mitsui Kimono store on the request of Takahashi. Hibi is known as a man who has both samurai's spirit and merchant's sense. Hibi realized the idea cherished by Takahashi to solidify the foundation of Mitsukoshi department store. In 1904, as management director, Hibi made a "department store declaration." According to Hibi, the department store should be "for the society". As a secret to the success of business, he listed customer satisfaction along with quality of products offered at the store, and good advertisement (honest communication). At the same time, he put focus on the importance of human resources, that is, improving the treatment of the employees. He regarded "Mitsukoshi spirit" as a basis of

³ Regarding Hibi, I mainly relied on Hayashi(2013),Sannyu(1972), Takahashi(1972) and Mitsui Library(2015).

customer-oriented principle and quality of the employee. Hibi himself had a clear vision of innovating the management style of the department store, not adhering to the traditional way of business (Hayashi, 2013, pp. 125 - 6).

In 1906, Hibi visited the department stores in the US and Europe including Wanamaker, Marshall Field, Macy's, Printemps, Lafayette, Louvre, Wertheim, White Leeds. At Harrods in the UK, he was surprised at not only the size of the store and merchandizing, but also the clerk's smiles different from the Japanese smile familiar to him. He wrote, "At last I've found my ideal department store in the UK. I cancelled sightseeing tour. I visited Harrods every day, hoping to make Mitsukoshi second Harrods. "

Takahashi, who believed in the necessity of "shaking up business and politics," attempted to reform the store and the style of selling, as he modelled on the department in the United States. Hibi had a different view from Takahashi. Considering the values of department stores from the viewpoint of contribution to the society, he introduced the principle of "customer first." He explained the ideal in plain language in *Reader for Mitsukoshi Boys* which was based on the teaching at Echigoya. It has been the fundament of omotenasahi customer service offered at Mitsukoshi today, to be discussed in detail in VII.

In sum, Takahashi as *sukishsa* introduced *chanoyu* into a department store in a materialistic sense; in contrast, Hibi with samurai spirit incorporated the spirit of *chanoyu* into department store.

The modern *sukisha's chanoyu* was obviously different from Sen-no-Rikyu's *chanoyu*: *sukisha* changed completely the values of *chanoyu*. It was partly due to the upheaval in the society and value system in that era: The power derived from wealth, rather than blood or family. Modern business people including *sukisha* tried to forge their ways by judging others for themselves, choosing (business) partners for themselves, regardless of the bond of the parent generation. In that sense, they cherished individualist perspectives. Based on their experience of traveling in Europe and the United States, they accepted the Western way of thinking. In order to succeed in the business world of the new era, it was also necessary for them to have a new frame of reference, other than traditional Japanese one.

The modern *sukisha* took pride in practicing a new *chanoyu* of a low context culture, which was deviant from traditional "kata" and canonical classical education. In contrast, Sen-no-Rikyu 's *chanoyu* was an extremely the one of a high context culture. That is, the host prepares everything for the customer. The guest is expected to understand and appreciated the intention of the host from the arrangement of tools. The exchanges of consideration between the host and guest do not appear as clear and visible. Guests

are required to read the air each other, behave appropriately for their positions in the gathering. Both feel contentment through contributing to the value of the places.

Then, how did the modern *sukisha* of a low-context culture adapt *chanoyu* of a high context culture? First, the *sukisha* accepted the main process of *chanoyu* as it was. Secondly, they did not care about detail and accuracy of behaviors. Thirdly, they enjoyed matching tools freely, irrespective of the instruction of a school. Fourthly, they incorporated their own ideas into *chanoyu*; for example, they attempted to bring dance and music into *chanoyu*. They maintained the superficial form of the *chanoyu* of a high-context culture and at the same time, omitted the spirituality from it.

However, according to the changes of the generation of *sukisha*, the style and values of *chanoyu* also changed. In the fourth generation of *sukisha*, from 1926 to 1936, the number of business elite who participated *chanoyu* meetings was greatly decreased as compared with the first generation, although they still occupied a large proportion of the *sukisha*. In addition, while most of the *sukisha* of the first generation were successful entrepreneurs who accumulated wealth through innovative business in the Meiji era, "the scale of the fourth-generation *sukisha* was much smaller, compared with the second and the third generation." (Saito, 2009, p.325) As the number and scale of businessmen decreased, upper-class women participants increased. In the years between 1935 and 1944, there was a major movement in the world of *chanoyu*: Urasenke launched a new marketing strategy of providing *chado* classes at the schools. *Sukisha* retreated from the front stage of *chanoyu*. Instead, Urasenke that derived from Sen-no- Rikyu grabbed the main role to alter the value of *chanoyu*.

3 The Marketing Strategies of Urasenke

3-1 Purpose of this chapter

As mentioned in the previous section, the popularity of traditional Japanese culture has been declining since the Meiji Restoration. In particular, the situation surrounding *chanoyu* has been changing greatly. Until the Edo period, wealthy merchants and people in power and, including *daimyos* frequented *chanoyu* masters and had education in *chanoyu*, but the *chanoyu* masters lost the support of such influential people during the Meiji Restoration. The existence of *chanoyu* was in danger. Without a strong relationship with *sukisha*, people of Urasenke (one of the oldest and most established *chaoyu* schools) became distressed and could hardly even earn a living. Such conditions forced the Urasenke family, especially after the 11th *Iemoto*, to develop survival strategies consciously and innovatively to overcome the change of time. They changed the values offered by *chanoyu*, positions, customers, as well as making maximum use of the media and organizational capabilities. In this chapter, I will first explain the efforts that the Urasenke family have made chronologically since its 11th *Iemoto*. Then, I will look at the drastic changes in the marketing strategy of Urasenke through time. In this chapter, the focus will be put on the values on the part of customers, namely, the students of *chado*, and the changes of the values of *chado* including on the part of people in general would be dealt with.

3-2. Crises in *Chanoyu* since the start of modern era

Since modern times, *chanoyu* has faced three major crises:

1) Meiji Restoration: the first threat since the start of *chanoyu* history

The *daimyos*, who were originally supporters of *chanoyu*, lost their powers and financial strength after the Meiji Restoration. In addition, the remaining ones moved to Tokyo, so there were no *de facto* patrons and pupils in the Kansai area. In particular, Urasenke had a weak relationship with *chanoyu* masters.

Secondly, in order to catch up with European powers, the government promoted the uptake of the western culture, as a national policy. Japanese traditional culture, including *chanoyu*, was hit by the disorganization crisis. The Meiji government attempted to enforce the entertainment license system on experts of the traditional Japanese entertainment (namely, *Noh*, *kabuki*, dance etc.) and put pressure on them.

Thirdly, not only the upper class, but also the middle class was caught by European culture. *Chanoyu* was considered outdated, and there was a sharp decline of those who wanted to learn about it. In such a situation, the Urasenke family shared a sense of crisis that they or *chanoyu* itself, would disappear soon. Everyone recognized the necessity of taking appropriate measures immediately.

2) The Taisho era and the Showa era (prewar)

Although the worst scenario of dismantling the family system could be avoided, but the fundamental problem surrounding *chanoyu* was not solved. In short, the living habits of Japanese people suddenly changed and people lost their interest in Japanese-style things. Along with the increasing popularity of women working with companies, there was an increase in the number of women wearing Western clothes. With the loss of interest in traditional values, people were only interested in new cultures.

3) The Showa era (postwar)

After the war, people could not afford to perform *chanoyu*. Since *sukisha* had strong relationships with the *zaibatsu*, *chanoyu* lost its support again after *zaibatsu* was dismantled by GHQ. In addition, since GHQ pointed out that "tea ceremony played a part in the war," they faced again the difficulty surviving.

3-3. From the 11th *Iemoto* to the 15th *Iemoto* ¹

Here I will take a look at how Urasenke coped with the problems that occurred during the era when *chado*, or tea ceremony, struggled since the Meiji Restoration.

1) The 11th *Iemoto*, Gengensai Seichu (1810-1877)

Gengensai Seichu, the 11th *Iemoto*, was born from a *daimyo* family (Matsudaira), became an adopted son-in-law into Urasenke at 10 years old, and inherited the family legacy in 1826. Making full use of his *daimyo* origin, he deepened the relationship with Maeda family, Hisamatsu family, Tokugawa family, Ikeda family, the court noble families, and influential temples. Gengensai devised a portable *chabako* or tea box, in order to enjoy *chado* during a journey. Although the tea box existed as a set for enjoying tea on a journey, it did not have any specific method of use, which he established. At the same time, he held special *chanoyu* meeting for the imperial family, court aristocrats, and *daimyos* with the purpose of appealing their status. It is worth mentioning that he decided to directly approach the emperor instead of the shogunate, due to the restoration era.

¹ Regarding the detail of each *iemoto*'s activity, I mostly relied on *The Chronicles of Urasenke 11-15*.

Due to the decision of the Meiji government to neglect traditional performing arts and imposing the license system also on *chanoyu*, in 1872, the heads of the Sen families submitted a statement entitled "The Significance of *Chado*" to the Governor of Kyoto in a joint name. As the oldest representative, Gengensai had the role of submitting the note. In the statement, it was written that "*chado* is the mental culture developed based on the teachings of Confucianism, not simply a form of entertainment." As a result, the Meiji government excluded *chado* masters from the entertainment licensing system.

Instead of sticking to tradition, Gengensai aimed at reforming the style of *chado* suitable for the new era. In the same year, a *ryureishiki* (a style of *chanoyu* using chairs to sit on) was held for the first time, in order to welcome guests from abroad at the first industrial expo in Japan (Kyoto Expo).

2) The 12th *Iemoto*, Yumyosai Jikiso (1852-1917)

Yumyosai was the eldest son of a family that owned a trading company in Kyoto, and married to the daughter of Urasenke when he was 20 years old. In 1876, the Kitano Grand Tea was held as a joint project of three Sen families. This event of *chaoyu* was meant to strengthen the impact of the *iemoto* and to honor and appreciate the tradition of *chanoyu*.² Around this time, Yumyosai decided to hand over the estate to his eldest son, Ennosai, and stepped aside to support *chado* from behind. After retirement, he lived in Nara temporarily, and got acquainted with *sukisha*. In addition, his wife Yuka became the first woman *chanoyu* master, and taught *chado* to the upper-class women. Due to her efforts, *chado* was spread among women of high society.

3) The 13th *Iemoto*, Ennosai Tetchu (1872-1929)

Ennosai was the eldest son of Yumyosai, and had been expected to be the heir of the family since the day he was born. He worked hard to reform Urasenke as an heir, and became the head of the family in 1889, when he was 18 years old. In 1891, he decided to move to Tokyo with his wife because he believed in the possibility. With the help from the disciples of Gengensai, the former Tango Tanabe lord, Makino Tadaatsu, navy generals and others, he was able to increase the number of his pupil in Tokyo. When he returned to Kyoto in 1896, he taught *chado* to Niijima Yae and Mrs. Osawa. In addition, the royal family and upper-class women became avid disciples. There is no doubt that this fact boosted the popularity of the Urasenke.

² Kitano Grand Tea Conference was held to commemorate a 300-year anniversary of the Grand Kitano Chanoyu Gathering, which was held by Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

One of Ennosai's first major accomplishments was to encourage the schools for the girls to introduce *chado* as lesson. He appealed that they should put emphasize on the character formation through *chado* in order to improve the status of women and to introduce culture of sentiments. First, his wife taught *chado* at a girls' school, the predecessor of Kyoto Prefectural First High School for Girls. It was because that they thought it was unsuitable for a young man to teach at a girls' school. At the same time, he worked on training teachers to provide *chado* lessons at girls' schools, and invented *bonryaku temae*, or simple procedure for making tea as a method suitable for lessons at school.

The second major achievement was the construction of community of the Urasenke clan. With the help of Yumyosai, he launched an in-house publication *Konnichian Monthly*. To provide information on tea ceremonies held throughout the country and communicating with one another, the journal was an important tool for strengthening the unity of Urasenke clan. It helped convey the proper style of *chado*, which has led to the establishment of the family's authority in the field. At the same time, he organized practice rooms throughout the country and founded an association to maintain the power.

Thirdly, with the support of the baron Kuki Ryuichi, who was a prominent figure in Japanese art with power in the promotion of art culture, he could expand his connections with the entrepreneurs in the Kansai area, including the Kawasaki family, the founder of the Kawasaki Dockyard, the Suzuki family from Suzuki and Co., the Okazaki family from Okazaki Bank and Sumitomo family. Urasenke expanded its influence in the Kansai area, especially in Kobe.³

Furthermore, in the 1900s, when Japanese traditional culture got the momentum of reputation through Okakura Tenshin and Fenollosa, Ennosai started teaching *chado* to American women.

4) The 14th *Iemoto*, Mugensai Sekiso (1893-1964)

As the eldest son of Ennosai, Mugensai was given rigid lessons of *chado* from his parents. In 1924, he became *Iemoto*, the head of the family. In 1925, he held a tea offering to the imperial couple. Since then, he performed tea offerings for the royal family and court noble families for many times. About 1926, he joined the Kyoto Rotary Club and got acquainted with leaders at Rotary club while he gave lectures on "The Essence of *Chanoyu*" at local schools.

Mugensai aimed to strengthen the clan's unity, greatly changed the value provided by *chado*, and launched a strategy of popularization, at the time of such social upheavals and sudden changes. First, to

³ in late 1900s, Kobe was the area that applied for the most licenses

strengthen the network, in early 1930s he established Tankokai to organize the small groups related to practice and studying the Urasenke *chado* that had scattered all over the country. Here, he aimed for the unification and improvement of the quality of leaders. It was necessary for him to standardize *temae* and the contents of lesson of *chado* so that it meant that he made his pupils all over the country recognize the sole authority of *iemoto*. Around 1950, he founded the Konnichian Foundation and the Chado Urasenke Tankokai Federation to re-strengthen the organization and unity.

Second, as to the value offered by *chanoyu*, he radically changed the original principle of "*wakei-seijaku*" (harmony, respect, purity and tranquility) to the usefulness of *chado* as mental training for wartime. He insisted that *chado* was the proper lesson for people to develop mental power and necessary courage. He emphasized that people should contribute to the nation through *chado*, as it gave them spiritual training suitable for Japanese people during the wartime.

At the end of the war, he drastically changed the value of *chado* again. In 1946's New Year's Greetings, Mugensai said, "As being reconstructed, Japan should contribute to the progress of the world in the cultural aspects to a great extent. In this way, *chado* that has made a number of contributions to Japanese culture is expected to do something more, and move forward ... In short, though we need not to change spiritual aspect of *chado*, as the spirit of *chado* permanently exists, we have to comprehend the new purpose and utility of *chado* and add new taste to it." Here Mugensai emphasized that the spirit of *chado* is "harmony" and the purpose of practicing *chado* is maintaining harmony with others. When he was summoned to GHQ for, he successfully persuaded them with this rhetoric.

Third, he announced popularization declaration in 1948. In the statement, he said that "Japanese traditional entertainment and culture as a whole has been significantly influenced by the feudal system, in which the master-disciple relationship was strictly maintained, and the class system was too much emphasized. That is why Japanese traditional entertainment and culture has not been spread among people. We, member of Urasenke, would take the initiative to break down the traditional custom, to reform the *iemoto* system, and to revive those, including *chado*, as popular entertainment and culture. Through this declaration, the market or the customers of *chado* expanded at once.

Fourth, he anticipated the fact that Japanese culture would be influenced by American culture from the root, and started to develop overseas market. In 1947, the International Chado Culture Foundation was established. The business description consists of 6 items, including "diffusion of *chado* to foreign countries", and "introduction of *chado* to foreigners in Japan, mission, or visitors. In 1959, he visited

Europe and US for 2 months as cultural representative of Goodwill Mission for the cultural festival to celebrate the 400 years anniversary of Sao Paulo City and for the conclusion of Kyoto-Paris Friendship Alliance.

5) The 15th *Iemoto*, Hounsai Hanso (1923 -)

From his childhood, he learned the family history and tradition, Buddhist ritual, calligraphy, *Noh*, *shimai*, *kendo*, as necessary for the heir of the family. When he was in junior high school, he realized his responsibility as the successor of Urasenke. Around the time, he presented *temae* in a formal *chanoyu* gathering. During the war, he joined the navy with a strong belief that "the essence of tea is the same as the essence of martial arts" and that he owed the history of *chanoyu* to the imperial country. He survived the war and returned to his family in 1945. It happened that he watched his father, Mugensai, performing *chanoyu* majestically for the officers of Allied Occupation forces, who were awkwardly sitting on the tatami in a strained posture. Then he aimed to pursue *chado*, developing international friendship through *chado*.

Hounsai further promoted overseas expansion that was started by his father and maintained the value of *chado* as a core of Japanese culture, peacefulness, and *omotenashi*, away from the tea room. First, he established the International Chado Culture Foundation in 1948, involving the other two *Sen* families, that is, the Omotesenke and Mushanokojisenke as counselors.

After becoming *waka soshō*, or young master in 1950, he visited overseas many times, talked in lectures and seminars, and started establishing overseas branches one after another, starting with the Hawaii branch. He said, "We should adopt such a western style in giving lessons of *chado*, and have to teach *chado* suitable for the environment, climate, and weather of the land." Since they had no Japanese-style rooms in Los Angeles at that time, he regarded it necessary to provide a western-style *temae* in order to increase the number of *chado* students in the US. He then introduced the *bonryaku tenmae* style and *chabako*, portable set for *chado*, etc. Hounsai took one bold step further than his father, in recognizing the necessity to modify the *chado* suitable for the lifestyle and custom of country in which they would promote *chado*. This policy enabled the acceleration of the overseas promotion of tea ceremony. In the same year, when demonstrating tea ceremony at San Francisco Art Exhibition in commemoration of Japan-US Peace Treaty, Hounsai said the following, "I would work hard to spread *chado* overseas in order to develop as international tea ceremony ... We should show the true *chado* as excellent spiritual culture in order to develop Japan as a country of self-reliance... We should put focus on the aspect of

chado as spiritual source of Japanese people... The new course of *chado* is envisioned by people of the newly born Japan." From this statement, it can be seen that he took the position as the representative of the entire *chado* community, not only that of Urasenke.

More importantly, Hounsai changed the main concept of *chado* from "how to behave at *chanoyu* gathering" to "the essence of each Japanese people". Through the periodical published by Urasenke, he said, "If we do not consider what the original purpose and the spiritual content of *chado* is, then we would be missing something important." He also criticized the traditional style of *chado* as "putting too much focus on the issues of right or wrong of *temae*". Here Hounsai showed the drastic shift of value of *chado* from "*temae*" to "spirit."

As the center of *chado* shifted from the tea room to "spirit" and "Japanese culture" (compare: *sukisha* adhered to the tea room), *chado* became more popular as the symbol of *omotenashi*. Hounsai skillfully produced various key phrases about *chado* or *chanoyu*, such as "*chado* as the core of Japanese culture", "enjoy harmony and peacefulness through *chanoyu*", "chanoyu as composite Japanese art", which led to appealing to younger generations and foreigners as a new and easier style of tea ceremony. Urasenke Gakuen actively accepts students from abroad, producing foreign professors of tea ceremony. Such policy led to the development of new markets of *chado* or tea ceremony.

Hounsai was also active in networking, making new channels with young businessmen in Kyoto through the Youth Conference Center and the Rotary Club, including Tsukamoto Koichi (of Wacoal), Inamori Kazuo (of Kyocera), and Tateishi Nobuo (of Tateishi Electric). At the same time, he learned organizational management skills, which helped the formation of Urasenke organization, and lead to the establishment of the Youth Department and the department of *chado* at school in Tankokai. He also reorganized Urasenke Gakuen.

Hounsai assumed key posts at various cultural associations and organizations, with a result that he expanded his connections. Urasenke also appeared in formal events of *omotenashi* for state and public guests from overseas (royal families, prime ministers).⁴

6) From the Meiji era to the Heisei period

Table 6-3 is the summary of the strategies of Urasenke in modern times.

⁴ In 1953, he performed a tea offering for Prince Akihito, who attended the coronation ceremony of Queen Elizabeth. It was when Urasenke established its position as a leader of *chado* in postwar Japan

Table6-3 Change in the strategies of Urasenke

name of <i>Iemoto</i>	period	strategy/ reform	Achievement
11 th Gengensai	End of Edo period, Meiji restoration 1826-77	Tea offering for the Emperor Sent a motion to the government on license System	claimed the spirituality of the tea ceremony
12 th Yumyosai	Meiji	Early retirement to support the 13 th generation	decided that it was necessary to deal with the difficult problem with his son, not alone
13 th Ennosai	Taisho	School tea ceremony Lessons for high-class women Organization of practice places Built relationships with businessmen in Keihanshin area	brand reinforcement, training masters ⇒ new values (later became the livelihood for many women) widely accepted as women's habit strengthened the unity of Urasenke Clan the number of Urasenke member in Kobe was the largest
14 th Mugensai	① prewar ② postwar	① tea as contribution to empire ② spirit of Japanese	tea ceremony useful for Empire realized that overseas is a market
15 th Hounsai	Showa	Overseas dissemination Inside Japan Strengthened the organization	tea ceremony as the core of Japanese culture, composite art. harmony and peacefulness tea ceremony as a common wisdom, mindfulness, and omotenashi

Then, a question appears: what enabled each *iemoto* of the Urasenke family to respond to the situation shown above?

The first reason can be found in the education and growing process from the time of their childhoods. Urasenke family treats the problem of choosing their own successors with consciousness and meticulous strategy. For example, the 11th *Iemoto* and the 12th *Iemoto* were from families that were suitable for network and expansion. Gengensai grew up being conscious that he would be the next *Iemoto*, was given the special education as being an excellent leader, including the family history and tradition of *chanoyu*. The 13th, 14th, and the 15th were born as the eldest sons of the previous *iemoto* and were treated as important successors by their family members and acquaintances. As a result, they were strongly conscious of their "family" from a young age, with a sense of mission embedded in themselves. The top priority for them is to "maintain Urasenke school"; for them, *chado* is more than a culture: it meant family business. The family has confronted many crises, and each time the head of the family utilized his resources, such as family background and personal relationships, and dared to challenge their own tradition or styles, in order to overcome the difficulties to protect family business as well as the culture.

In addition, they learned as successors from previous *iemoto* at early ages, experienced on-site trainings and trials. By seeing how their fathers do their businesses, not only they could gain hands-on experience on being the head of a family they could also recognize various problems and challenges. They also learned how to manage the disciples and servants from experience. While being in a relatively independent position, they worked on their preparations, such as establishing a personal network, and when the time to become the head of the family came, they already had certain plans and abilities to develop Senke.

The second reason is not limited to Urasenke, as *iemoto* is naturally controls everything related to the school from the contents and standards of the lessons to finance, organization, and personnel (Hsu, pp. 311-2). The *iemoto* system is a "huge hierarchy with *iemoto* as the apex" (Hirota p. 14), which is maintained by a succession system that *iemoto* has the ultimate power to himself. What *iemoto* thinks about is regarded as the formal decision of Urasenke, without any discussions or approvals. *Iemoto* was able to change the principle or strategies without any consultation or discussion, and to implement the policy promptly, just because he was *iemoto* and had the authority. Urasenke was able to adapt successfully to the change of the society based on the *iemoto* system.

Before proceeding to the next section, I would like to mention the situation of Omotesenke, another school of tea ceremony that has a lot of followers. Although this school has been doing almost the same activities as Urasenke, but its membership system was only established in 1955. In Omotesenke, the status of women is not so high as in Urasenke. In addition, the message from *iemoto* and the school has been limited to *chanoyu* or *chado* itself. Unlike Urasenke, the school did not step further into of "spirituality" or "peacefulness," which Urasenke has been appealing as the benefits of tea ceremony in modern society. Omotesenke has different strategies, partly because they had a strong connection with the Mitsui family during the Meiji Restoration so that they had no awareness of the crisis of the family business, which can be considered as a negative factor in implementing bold business strategies.

3-4. Urasenke's brand strategy process

As mentioned in the previous section, Urasenke has changed its marketing strategies according to the environment of the society. Below is the summary of the strategies of Urasenke.

1) Position as orthodox

Urasenke kept its pivotal position of *chanoyu* or *chado* and had strong appeal as orthodox by performing tea offerings for the imperial family and the royal families. On the other hand, they announced a new axis such as popularization and internationalization of *chado* so that they succeeded in appealing as innovative school.

2) Setting new targets

Urasenke emphasized different values from those in the past; *chado* could help women develop their characters and sensibilities. The fact that Urasenke teachers had lessons of *chado* at well-known girls' high school led to the trust in Urasenke.

3) Building and strengthening the community

Urasenke recognized the importance of organizing the clan early. They put focus on enhancing the unifying power of *iemoto*, by arousing admiration from the disciples through their own media including newsletter and monthly periodical. They also placed emphasis on management of the information related to their disciples and instructors nationwide. It is worth mentioning that they were always conscious of maintaining balance among the inner circles, namely, conservative and reformist.

4) Popularization

Apart from its own media, Urasenke also made the most of mass media such as television, creating the image that "Urasenke is the symbol of manners and traditional etiquette among public. (Afterwards, the public image was changed to be the authority of mindfulness and *omotenashi*. The key role in this was played by this was Shiotsuki Yaeko, daughter of the 14th *Iemoto* and sister of the 15th *Iemoto*. Yaeko regularly appeared on NHK's popular programs and gained popularity at once. Her book on manners for ceremonial occasions (1970) became best-selling with about 7 million copies sold, and brought the image of Urasenke as authority on manners and conventions" for upper-middle-class women. Since then, she published several dozens of books on consideration and thoughtfulness, with the result that the image of Urasenke as master of mindfulness was established.

5) Reimporting

Urasenke made the most of their overseas promotions in order to enhance their brand image in domestic field. For example, in 1951, Hounsai went to the United States (as a young master) to open an overseas branch in Hawaii. It was natural that they report how many people gathered at the opening ceremony and how Westerners enjoyed *chado* with Hounsai on their periodicals, and that those reports from San Francisco, New York, Seattle, etc. helped commitment to the school by arousing pride and

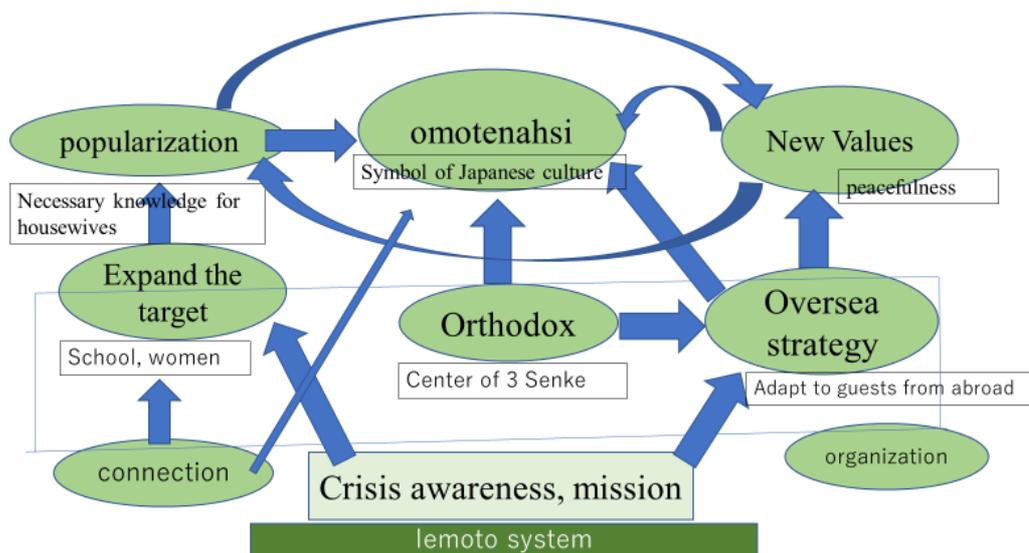
pleasure among the pupils. The special report also contained a dialogue between Hounsai and Yoshiko Yamaguchi a famous actress. The readers were pleased with those articles, saying, "Our young master stood tall among Americans," "giving impression that he is on equal with Americans", "with smart and mild expression even at a young age of 27-28 years old", and "Sometimes dressed formally in kimono, he performed *temae* in front of audiences". In this way, Urasenke was able to show that tea ceremony was highly appreciated in the United States and the young leader was received as the authority, so that they improved greatly the loyalty of its disciples. As written in Hirota (2012), the activities in the United States brought about incredible effects on the domestic side. From the July to October 1952 issues, they apologized for the inconvenience because that they were flooded with application (p. 283).

6) The new meaning of *chado*

Hounsai considered *chado* or *chanoyu* as "the core of Japanese culture" and "the spirit of Japanese," not defined by the traditional *chanoyu*. He also mentioned that "the peacefulness of *chado* is important for those living in this era and onward."

These strategies mutually influenced each other and created a virtuous circle. Below is the summary in a figure (6-3).

Figure 6-3 Brand Strategy of Urasenke



When the *iemoto* of Urasenke stated that *chado* is a core of Japanese culture and a common knowledge necessary for Japanese people, he talked not only as a school of *chado*, but at the position that

represented the entire *chado* community, or even the professionals for Japanese traditional culture as a whole. When they made formal tea with VIP from abroad as main guests, they showed people the norm of omotenashi, not the Urasenke style. Here Urasenke realized successfully the public recognition that Urasenke's *chado* was the right method for offering omotenashi in Japan. When Urasenke was taken as synonymous with "the *chado*," and *chado* taken as symbol of omotenashi or Japanese culture", it would not surprising that Urasenke was associated with omotenashi and Japanese culture.

3-5. *Chado* at schools

Its focus on the market called school *chado* was particularly important in Urasenke's marketing strategy. In 1872, *chado* was introduced into the curriculum of *Jokouba* (a newly established school for girls, later changed to Kyoto Prefectural School). The principal was Nijima Yae. At that time, people started to realize how important girls' education was. In 1875, Atomi Kakei, who was known as superb woman in that era, opened the Atomi Gakuen School. From the start, *chado* was included in the curriculum in that school. Nijima wrote that "*chado* is more suitable lesson for girls to master good manners. If you practiced *chado*, you would know where to be seated." Later, *chado* became one of the regular subjects in that school. Around 1910, more and more girls' high school introduced *chado* into optional subjects, which led to the idea that *chado* was one of desirable accomplishments for girls. Even the mission schools, which had different visions from those traditional-type schools, had *ikebana* and *chado* lessons as optional subjects.

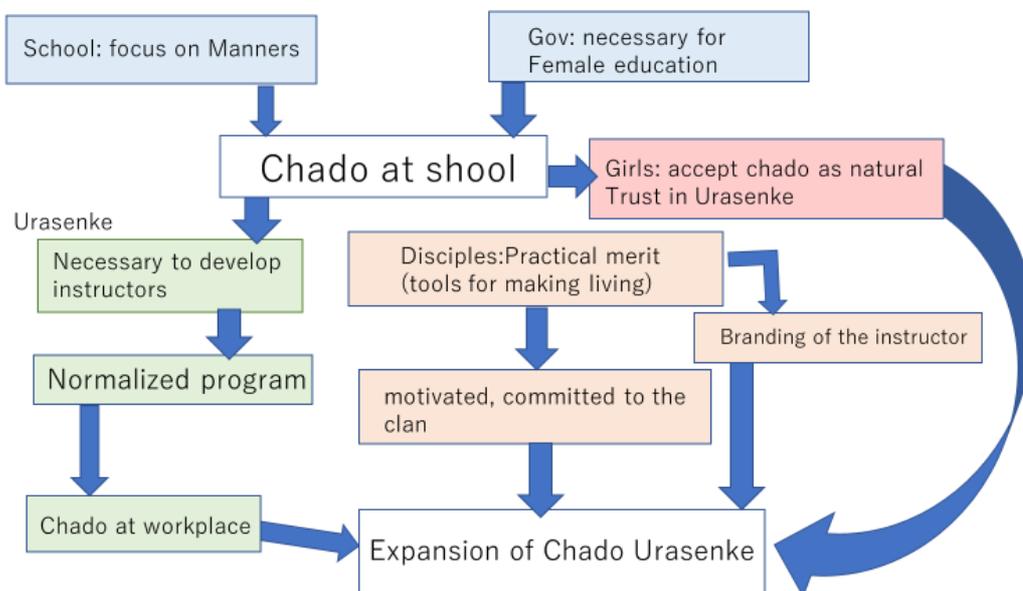
Girl students generally took several private lessons other than regular classed at school. They saw the lessons of standard accomplishments as necessary tool for independent if during an emergency. In the 1930s, *chado* spread among girls, as they understood they could be instructors of *chado* if they had enough lessons, and it showed *chado* had some practical value for them, because they could live for themselves as instructors of *chado*.

As described above, practice of *chado* had two meanings: standard accomplishment for women and necessary tool for independence. Urasenke emphasized those meanings in promoting *chado* lessons provided schools. In other words, *chado* lessons provided at school were regarded as compulsory subjects for girls, while for the instructors, the lessons were practical ways to make living. For women, it was favorable to teach at schools than having students.

Urasenke also focused on developing instructors of *chado*. Since Urasenke started a workshop for lecturers in 1911, they have been committed to promoting *chado* subject at school through various kinds of projects including training and supporting instructors, creating a curriculum for *chado* at schools, creating a program as club activity, compiling textbooks and teaching materials, and arranging seminars for school principals to introduce *chado* as subject. Urasenke also provided detailed services, such as providing a special curriculum that suits the social and educational background, introducing appropriate instructors, and so on. By dispatching and/or introducing instructors, those who acquired the Urasenke's license would be given the status of "part-time lecturer" or "temporary lecturer". This led to lecturers' motivation as well as branding, and supported Urasenke's popularity. Thanks to the efforts, *chado* at schools still has popularity.

The relationship of promoting *chado* at school and the improving brand of Urasenke is summarized below. (Figure 6-4)

Figure6-4 Effects of Introduction of *Chado* at School



3-6. Conclusion

Along with the social changes of the era, from the Meiji period through the Showa period, and to the Heisei period, Urasenke has quickly read the changes and has adapted its business domain dynamically. A summary of the strategies that led to the survival of Urasenke's family is as follows.

1) Changed the value of *chado*

Entertainment / socializing ⇒ aesthetics ⇒ spirituality ⇒ *omotenashi* / Japanese culture

2) Shifted the position of Urasenke

Mainstream school of *chado* ⇒ Center position supporting Japanese culture

3) Changed the image of Urasenke

Traditional ⇒ Innovative, international, friendly

4) Changed customers

Upper class society ⇒ school and women, general companies, foreigners

5) Partially changed some of its products

Preparation of uniformized programs for schools, served foreigners (adaptation based on the targets for growth)

6) Changed the benefits of *chado*

Benefit as a skill necessary for socializing ⇒ Tashinami (basic accomplishment for future brides)

⇒ a "job" as instructors ⇒ a lesson to acquire mindfulness, *omotenashi*

7) Made use of the community

Organized the clan from the early stage. Increased the family's unifying force by disseminating information on the company's in-house publication

8) Utilized the media

Television, radio, practical publication (on know-how)

I close this chapter with suggesting we should gain a new viewpoint of the strategy of Urasenke, by applying the effectuation theory provided by Sarasvathy. They started with what they had; they attempted to use the tools they had. Compared with the previous leaders, the 15th *Iemoto*, Hounsai, positively introduced causation to his policy as the scale of Urasenke as an organization had expanded and the position became established. It may lead to another productive discussion of Urasenke, though here I will not step further, in order to focus on the development of the concept of *omotenashi* in this dissertation.

VII The Spirit of Omotenashi Inherited by Contemporary Business Practice

1 Omotenashi as Customer Service Provided at Mitsukoshi Department Store

1-1 Introduction

Purpose

Since 2014, Nihombashi Main Store of Mitsukoshi Department Store has been promoting various initiatives such as "cultural dissemination" of omotenashi of Japan as the core of the store's concept. Shopping on the Internet has become more popular and sales at department stores are generally sluggish. For department stores to survive as department stores, it is not just selling things but improving customer satisfaction with their own excellent customer service. This chapter focuses on their customer service which is based on the spirit of omotenashi. Their omotenashi customer service, as it were, leads to long-term relationships with customers. I will discuss the factors of omotenashi customer service which enables it to build relationships with customers, and give what influences on Mitsukoshi department store as a whole. It shows how the spirit of omotenashi has been inherited by contemporary business practice. Furthermore, I will clarify the difference between Mitsukoshi and Nordstrom department stores, also known for its customer first principle. On the surface, their actions have much in common especially in terms of customer service, though there is a difference between the two.

Research methodology and theoretical framework

I conducted on-site observation and interviews with the cooperation of the Nihomashi Main Store of Mitsukoshi Department Store (hereinafter referred to as Mitsukoshi Nihombashi); I participated in the pre-entry training for the staff, observed the customer service activities to the regular customers, attended the morning assembly on the food floor, and made an inspection tour inside the store (all performed from early September to October 2017). In October of the same year, I interviewed three Mitsukoshi staff members: Mr. Masaharu Tsuzuki who is in charge of human resources and education, Mr. Akira Ozawa who is a typical traditional style Kimono salesperson, working for Mitsukoshi for half a century and Ms. Kiyoko Kondo, famous as "Okami of Mitsukoshi Nihombashi" who plans and implements the store tour for the customers and visitors.

In the third section of this article, in order to explore the mechanism by which the omotenashi customer

service provides customer satisfaction and impressions of Mitsukoshi Department Store, 160 cases in the booklet *Gifts from Customers*, which collects appreciation letters from customers were analyzed by the modified grounded theory approach (M-GTA) method. The reason for using this method is that it was appropriate to analyze the context and intention of the customers.

Previous research

There are many publications written about Mitsukoshi Department Store. Takei (2015) highlighted the history of Mitsukoshi's business model innovation as a kimono dealer and clarified "competitiveness of Japanese trading practices". Hayashi (2013) discusses the branding of department stores from the early period of the department store. Jinno (1994) clarified the process Mitsukoshi Department Store fueled middle-class people's desire for consumption in the late Meiji period with "good hobbies" from a cultural historical viewpoint. The details of the service at Nordstrom are detailed in Spector & McCarthy (2012). Sato (1999) is the inspection report of the store. Mitsuhashi (1997) focuses on the fierce competition by their staff behind their dedication to customers.

Mitsukoshi Department Store

The precursor of Mitsukoshi Department Store is Mitsui Echigoya, a kimono merchant founded in 1673. At that time, kimono sales were generally based on stable relationships with wealthy people. First a salesman took the products to the mansion of the regular customer, and if the wife and the daughters were satisfied with them, then the salesman suggested the price, according to the relationships and the financial position of the customer. As to the payment, the person in charge visited the customer's at the end of the term. In contrast, Echigoya introduced a new way of selling. The goods were displayed at the shop and the price was fixed, that made it possible for any customers (both familiar customers and first-time customers) to buy at the price as indicated. Customers were supposed to pay for the products in cash at that moment. This innovative sales style soon became popular among people in the Edo period, which customers learned from advertisement leaflets and the signboard of the shop. In addition, while it was common to sell and buy kimono by *tan* (roll of cloth), Echigoya started selling as much cloth as the customer wanted, which also gained great popularity with the common people.

Since the end of the Edo period, Mitsui Echigoya lost customers and the business performance became extremely poor, as the Japanese lifestyle completely changed. The store had been repeatedly separated,

reorganized and independent in relation to the strategy of the Mitsui Group as a whole. And at last, in 1904 it was launched as a Mitsukoshi Gofuku (kimono) Store. It was the following year that they published "Department Store Declaration" in the major newspapers nationwide. Mitsukoshi became the father of modern department stores in Japan.

It is noteworthy that the basic philosophy of customer service and necessary knowledge for salesperson at Mitsukoshi Department Store were clearly stipulated in a book titled *The Secrets of Business* and *Reader for Mitsukoshi Boys*, and "the secrets" have been passed down as a core part of education of employees still today. *The Secret of Business* written by Osuke Hibi, who established Mitsukoshi Department Store with a strong vision, depicts the guideline for business. The first article starts as follows: "the main purpose of the customers who come to us is not only getting the product they need but getting pleasure...probably because they are able to feel unparalleled satisfaction on entering Mitsukoshi." (P. 2) It shows the essence of omotenashi customer service today.

Reader for Mitsukoshi Boys was compiled at the end of the Meiji era based on business wisdom inherited from the Echigoya era. Whereas *the Secrets of Business* was written from the side of the manager, it was written for employees to learn "Mitsukoshii spirit". The first Article says, "If you work for Mitsukoshi and do not know the vision of Mitsukoshi, it's the same as you do not understand the meanings of what you read. If you work for Mitsukoshi and you do not understand Mitsukoshi's principle of customer first, it's the same as that you do not enjoy the taste of what you eat" (Aono, p. 279). Here is the belief expressly shown: the person who works for Mitsukoshi should understand the idea of Mitsukoshi. It supports the omotenashi customer service at the root, to be discussed later.

Mitsukoshi and Isetan were merged in 2008 to start as Isetan Mitsukoshi Holdings Co., Ltd. Isetan also has a reputation for first-rate customer service, but Mitsukoshi and Isetan differ in nature. For example, Isetan offers "product centered" service, and they provide high quality items to customers who are confident of choosing the most suitable one with their own fashion sense. In contrast, Mitsukoshi offers "human-centered" service to customers who need to get detailed advice from the salesperson through respectful communication.

1-2 Omotenashi customer service at Mitsukoshi

1-2-1. Omotenashi customer service

In this section, I will first show the contents of omotenashi customer service at Mitsukoshi. The

omotenashi customer service at the store can be organized into the following 8 items.

(1) Always prioritize customers

This is the very core of the whole service provided at Mitsukoshi Department Store. In the training course for the newcomers at Mitsukoshi Nihombashi, they put focus on the sentence: “we should always think about what we could do to have our customers feel comfortable, and we should always give priority to customers anytime and anywhere”. The concept of providing customers pleasure (not just products) of *the Secret of Business* is clearly reflected in the sentence. The ideal can be seen from an example from *Gifts from Customers* in which a young salesperson at the women's clothing floor said to a woman with a little child, "Please enjoy trying something on as you like. You don't have to buy anything. Just enjoy the new clothes." The customer wrote that she was heavily tired, and that the kindness of the salesperson gave her relief and happiness. She even attended to the customer's child while she tried some clothes on.¹

(2) Never say NO

The first thing among the customer service rules for salespersons is “NEVER say NO” to the requests by the customers. For example, if the customer does not find what she wants, the salesperson is supposed to inquire about the stock to the other stores of Mitsukoshi Department Store. If there is no stock or when the customer needs it immediately, she/he introduces other shops around the area to the customer after making sure that they have the item. In other words, they should put customers' requests before the sales of Mitsukoshi.

At Mitsukoshi Department Store, they frequently accept customers who have something broken, that they want to have repaired which they may not have bought there. They would make every effort to meet the requests of the customers, because they understand the things have special meanings for them.

(3) Customer service with a team

At Mitsukoshi Department Store, employees are supposed to provide customer service with a team of the entire floor, and the store as a whole. For example, when a customer who was wondering which coat to buy between two brand shops, the salesperson suggested, "Let me bring both here, and please try them on." When another customer said to a salesperson, "I'm looking for a bag suitable for such an occasion," the sales person not only showed the customer some bags of her own shop but also asked people in charge of the other shops to show the customer something suitable, so that the customer could compare many items in a short time.

¹ Gifts from Customers (2009) p.42

(4) Have a consciousness as professional in customer service

Salespeople at Mitsukoshi Department Store are expected to have not only thorough knowledge of the items they have, but also proper information of the ceremonial occasions which differ according to the convention of the different areas of Japan. At Mitsukoshi Department Store, customers frequently ask for advice what to buy, how to wrap, and/or how to send (for example, “Should I put *noshi* on the box?” or “Where should I put my name?”) It is also essential for the employees to make efforts to add knowledge related to their items. Salespeople in charge of apparel should show the customers how to care for the products they buy, in simple language. Just having the knowledge is insufficient. Knowledge will be effective only when they come close to the feelings of customers.

Although they put top priority on customers, it is not that they should put themselves down. As a professional with product knowledge, sensibility and skill, salespersons are considered to be equal to customers. In other words, salespeople believe they could build relationships of trust with customers.

It is also emphasized that they should treat every customer equally. They do not change attitudes depending on the appearance, age, or purchase of the customer. A woman wrote of her experience at a cosmetic counter in Mitsukoshi Department Store as follows. "When I first dropped in at the shop, I wore cheap sandals—too casual for the shop. A salesperson kindly gave me good advice about the item and how to use... and then, a woman who appeared very rich came near and said sharply, "I'm in a hurry." The salesperson said politely to the woman, “This customer has come in first,” and respectfully asked her to wait with some magazines. I was very happy. "²

(5) Stay closer to the customer's feelings

As explained in *The Secret*, the employee is required to have the ability to understand what the customers want (sometimes they do not know what they really want) or why they came to the shop, how they feel about that, and the context behind their purchase. A Customer who bought a sugar box at a tableware shop wrote as follows. "When a salesperson asked me, I answered that I would put something important in it. She didn't ask anymore but kindly took time to choose one...In fact, I was buying a sugar box to put in the ashes of my son who passed away at age 20. "³

The ability to imagine the background of the customers (why they want this item, for what purpose) is always emphasized to the salespeople at Mitsukoshi. Instead of asking questions in trying to solve the

² *Gift from Customers* (2009), p.40.

³ *Gift from Customers* (2008), p.61.

problem, they are expected to imagine the “why” from the customers’ facial expressions and gestures, and think what best to do for the customers.

(6) Do not stick to manuals

In a training course for new employees at Mitsukoshi Department Store, a standard manual is never shown. Mr. Tsuzuki said to them, "Please think about yourself about how you should behave for your customer." Mr. Tsuzuki himself talked about his own experience in the interview. He saw a businessman in a hurry in front of the store before the opening time, saying "I have an important business appointment, and I must take with me an assortment of Japanese sweets at XX (prestige store) of Mitsukoshi Nihomashi. But the store is not open yet, so I have no time to buy them." Then Mr. Tsuzuki did not hesitate to offer to buy the assortment for him, which absolutely relieved the businessman. Mr. Tsuzuki said to me that it should not matter to customers whether a person of Mitsukoshi is a salesperson or not. “We are all Mitsukoshi people,” he added.

There is a case that a salesperson accepted a request of a customer to sell a single bottle of *sake* from which they are normally to sell in bulk, as he understood the situation (the customer wanted to buy the *sake* in memory of his deceased father.)⁴ In this episode, the customer wrote how he was relieved as the salesperson read his facial expression and understood the story without asking why. The customer said sorry about breaking the rule, but the salesperson replied with a smile, “It is OK. Don’t worry. We will sell the rest.”

(7) Do what you can do for the customers irrespective of duty

In *Gifts from Customers*, a woman described her experience as follows. Her boss ordered her to buy some kinds of sweets for a party. She had no idea what to buy, and she had to hurry because the party was to start within a few hours. The woman rushed to a cloakroom, (she confused it with the information counter,) and asked for advice. Surprisingly, the person at the cloakroom showed her proper sweets suitable for the occasion at once. She followed the advice, and “My boss was surprised to see my returning back so soon with what they wanted.” As this example shows, at Mitsukoshi Department Store, everyone is expected to answer customers' questions, even if she /he is not in charge.

Ms. Kiyoko Kondo, “Okami” of the department store, is famous for conducting a tour of Mitsukoshi Nihombashi (for free). She has a tremendous knowledge of the history and also has a narrative skill to entertain participants of the tour. Originally Ms. Kondo was in charge of information counter. She first

⁴ *Gift from Customers* (2010), p.24.

volunteered to plan some tour of the department store, because there were so many historically important works of art. She thinks about the content, manuscripts, props by herself.⁵ She said that she was enjoying preparing for the tour, such as reading history books on this area, and visiting museums in neighborhood.

(8) Smile

At Mitsukoshi Department Store, they place a top on smile for customer service, as stated in *Readers for Mitsukoshi Boys*. It is because that they believe it a value provided by the department store to create lots of happy moments for customers. They said to the effect that it is necessary for them (employees) to be happy and smiling, to make customers happy and satisfied. It is the fact that most of the customers mentioned “smile” of the employees in *Gifts from Customers*,

1-2-2. System for motivating employees

The customer service is enabled by the educational system and award system. Educational system consists of (1) training programs for salespersons, and (2) voluntary training session held by the division. It is also important for young employees to learn the secrets from seniors. Evergreen award system is of help to share the knowledge to offer good customer service.

(2) Training programs for salespersons

In 2017, they began to review the training system to improve customer service and the ability of selling and formulated “SSP” (sales skill-up program). It consists of 9 actions and 23 skills. 9 actions are as follows: (a)prepare for customers (b)welcome & approach (c)understand the customer's purpose of coming (d) make valuable proposal (e)recommend something in addition (f)relieve concerns of the customer (g)solve the problems (h) offer a feeling of relaxation, and (i) make proposal for coming again.

Currently, they put an emphasis on fundamental education to support the character building as well as some skills. Mr.Tsuzuki said they aimed to embed in employee, the basics of human relationships, sensibility, and so on.

(2) Voluntary training session

In Mitsukoshi Department Store, they hold morning meeting session (about 10 minutes) to share information on number of customers coming stores compared to last year, and confirmation of events, approaches to customers, etc. Some departments make the most of this time to have voluntary training session, including training ability to imagine why the customer is coming to the shop, and to make proper

⁵ Interview was conducted October 7th, 2017 at Mitsukoshi Nihombashi Main Store.

proposals.

(3) Evergreen Award system

The award system has been introduced to recognize excellent staffs who have made outstanding contribution to the department store, regardless of their position, age, or department. With the award system, they would not only focus on sales but on good relationships with customers to improve the whole value of Mitsukoshi. At the awards ceremony held at the Mitsukoshi Theater once a year, all managers including group executives are present.

(4) Learning from seniors

Mr. Akira Ozawa, a manager of kimono department, has study sessions regularly among young staffs, to share his experience and knowledge of selling kimono. Since joining Mitsukoshi in 1963, he has consistently dealt in kimono for 40 years, and he is aware of being the last person who experienced the traditional business in Mitsukoshi way. Through the study session, he said, he would like to convey what he had learned from seniors and customers to the younger generation. He said repeatedly, "Our relationship with the customers is eventually the relationship between person and person." "What I have learned at Mitsukoshi is how to live as a person, not just how to sell expensive items."⁶

1-3 Analysis of *Gifts from Customers*

Mitsukoshi Department Store publishes a booklet, *Gifts from Customers*, which is a collection of appreciation letters (including e-mails) from customers for employees. Each booklet consists of about 40 examples, in which customers express their gratitude to employees (not limited to salespersons) for their kind words, considerate behaviors, or quick responses. I will analyze cases from *Gifts from customers*, issued from 2007 to 2010, using the modified grounded theory approach (M-GTA) to understand salesperson behaviors that result in customer satisfaction and appreciation.

1-3-1 *Gifts from Customers*

This booklet contains all 160 letters of thanks from guests to salespersons and staff. There is no fixed form; the age, gender, residence, and store names are unknown in most letters. However, the contexts of phrases such as "Took my grandchild's hand ..." "Wife with dementia ..." "Kept my five-year-old daughter with my husband, while I stayed with our two-year old daughter ..." and so on, give us some hints of their

⁶ Interview was conducted October 18, 2017, at 4th floor of Mitsukoshi Nihombashi.

ages and sex. According to the estimation, majority of the customers are a relatively large number of elderly women, men in their 60s and 70s, and women raising children. The ages of salesperson/staff in letters of gratitude varied from 20s to 50s.

Next, using M-GTA, I will analyze how the omotenashi behaviors of Mitsukoshi salespersons/staff brings satisfaction to customers. Of the 160 items, excluding those concerning special events, I examined the words and phrases used by salespersons and staff, which provided customer satisfaction, and then convert these concepts and definitions from each scene. Table 7-1 presents the results. “P” stands for “personality,” “s” for “sales,” and “o” for “organization.”

Table 7-1 Concepts and Definitions of Omotenashi customer service

NO	Concepts	Definition
p 1	kind behavior	Considerate approach from the customer’s perspectives. kind as a person
p 2	sincerity	Always respond respectfully irrespective of the price of the purchase.
p 3	smile	Give customers happiness with the hearty smile
p 4	earnestness	Always be earnest, if nobody sees the scene.
p 5	gentle, amiable behavior	Gentle behavior which gives good impression
p 6	quick response	Ready to help customers in trouble
s 1	read the context	Understand the customer’s feelings or worries without asking
s 2	never say NO	Ready to meet customer’s request, and solve the problem
s 3	respectful attitude	Listen to the customers attentively. Spend a great deal of time if needed.
s 4	kindly seeking for the item	Ready to ask other stores for stock, if there are none there.
s 5	ability to suggest	Suggest the right item for customers with thorough knowledge.
s 6	accuracy	Make no mistakes even in a hurry.
s 7	skill as salesperson	Have high level of skill as to give customers happiness
s 8	equality among customers	Never treat differently because of their appearance or purchase
s 9	professionalism	Always offer the best for the customer
s 10	teamwork	Respond to the customer by a team Mitsukoshi
s 11	irrespective of duty	Make every effort to meet the request even if you are not in charge
o 1	as Mitsukoshi person	Strong commitment to Mitsukoshi.

Before constructing the concept map, I would like to note that the list above does not include theoretical gimmicks which bring out surprises, but rather consist of subtle or inconspicuous behaviors.” Customers are not impressed because they are surprised but because they appreciate that the salesperson did something for them in such a kind way. For example, a customer who entered the department store to buy a shoe insole just before closing on December 31 tried to “choose in a hurry” since he supposed that he would bother them; however, the salesperson presented some shoe designs and examined the customer’s foot carefully, suggested of some items kindly, and recommending trying on a shoe, which was touching.” “I thought that it would be inconvenient to buy something cheap at such a time, but I was deeply impressed by your kindness and ... I will go shopping again at Mitsukoshi! You made my day! “⁷

In this case the customer service activity shows “kindness,” “suggestive power,” and “professionalism,” while reflecting the ideal that “all customers are equal,” whether he buys expensive item or not. This customer said, “The advice made my shoes very easy to wear; I am satisfied.” This is an evaluation of professional work; however, it is for “kindness” and not “emotion” that the customer says, “I was deeply impressed.”

The words “kindness” and “touching” frequently appear in *Gifts from Customers*. The word “kindness” broadly divides two scenes. The first is kindness in the sales profession. In the above table, this corresponds to S1 to S4. For example, the salesperson explains the features of the product and shows how to use it in detail, explains about the local customs of the ceremonial occasion, and thinks about what to buy in the customer’s place. It often requires professional skills as a salesperson; however, it is not the skill itself that the customers appreciate. For example, a customer who visited the department store after the funeral of her mother to buy something in return for the funeral offerings praised the right choice of items and suggestions. However, she said that she was deeply moved by the “warm words” and “kindness” of the salesperson in charge.

The second scene showing kindness is not related to sales, but to personal consideration. As a specific example,

-A salesperson talked to a visually impaired man and guide him to the department he sought for (seen by another customer)

-When I tried to borrow an umbrella at the store, the cleaning staff told me kindly about the free bus service

⁷ *Gift from Customers* (2009), p.4

and checked its time for me

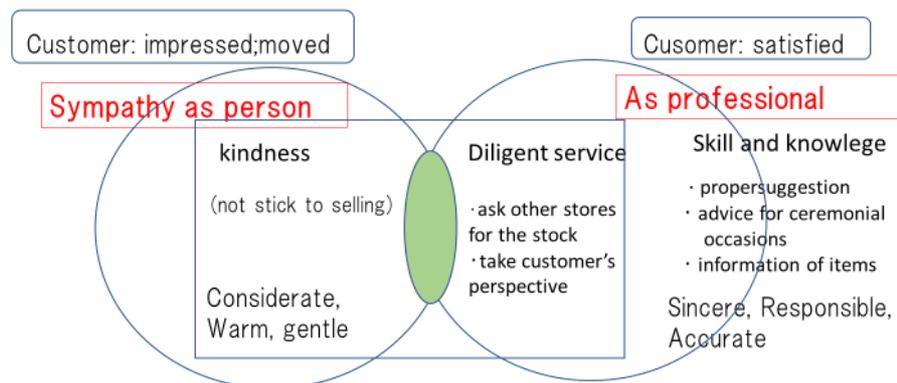
-The salesperson listened with a nod to a long talk that my elderly mother could not manage.

-When returning the wheelchair I borrowed for my mother, the guide staff said to us, “You don’t have to return this now. Please use this to the parking lot,” and pressed the wheelchair for us.

-When I was having trouble with my grandchild outside the store, the staff helped me and led me to the subway station.

There were lots of phrases which describe how the salespersons were kind or considerate as a person. There were even expressions that “I feel respect for her,” or “I think she/he will be a good model for my children.” Some customers are touched by the behaviors of the salesperson, saying “I saw such a wonderful scene.” The behavior which causes strong impression is shown in the following figure (figure 7-1).

Figure 7-1 Behavior which causes strong impression on customers



The left and right circles indicate scenes not related and related to sales, respectively. In the sales-related scene, kindness and skill-related types can be divided. There is a great difference between “sympathy as a person” in the left circle and “kindness as a profession.” Sympathy as a person is indispensable for causing the strong impression on the customer. The customer could be impressed or moved even if the salespersons shows no professional skill, such as product knowledge and the power of suggestion. The elliptical portion at the center causes “the highest excitement,” with the prerequisite base of “human kindness.” As a profession, the ability of proposing suitable items is desired: it is an additional element on the assumption that they have a certain degree of the sympathy and human kindness.

1-3-2 Mechanism of successful customer service

What is the mechanism of success in customer service and sales at Mitsukoshi Department Store?

First, when a salesperson welcomes guests with sympathy and consideration, she/he understands the background from the others perspective. Instead of trying to solve customer problems quickly, salesperson at Mitsukoshi takes time to understand the customer's feeling and background. (Therefore, it will not lead to sales immediately.) Simultaneously, salespeople have high consciousness as professionals, and make proposals that exceed customer expectations. Such skills can be acquired to some extent through training program. In contrast, sympathy and the reading abilities are often obtained from voluntary training and senior teaching rather than training. In the section in which I dealt with the training program above, I explained that they put focus on "the basic education that creates the foundation for humanity." Although it may sound too idealistic, it is by the program that the salespersons easily understand what moves their customers.

The casual acts of kindness shown by the salespersons of Mitsukoshi to the persons at the airports, at the subway, on the bus are above the general definition of customer service. In addition, salespeople are always voluntarily approaching to help the customers. What made them do that?

The answer to this question lies in the phrase that frequently appears in *Gifts from Customers*, that is "because I am a person of Mitsukoshi." When a salesperson helped a parent and child in trouble outside the store, and they said, "Thank you! How kind you are!" she answered with smile, "My pleasure. Because I am a woman of Mitsukoshi,"⁸ The pride and commitment to the organization is clearly reflected in her answer. This awareness leads to teamwork among the Mitsukoshi stores throughout Japan and overseas: "As we are Mitsukoshi persons, we should cooperate with each other." And it will create further customer satisfaction.

What made the employees have the unparalleled pride and sense of identity? It is probable because they have handed down carefully the history of "Echigoya" (the predecessor of Mitsukoshi Department Store) within the company.⁹ In addition, when the Mitsukoshi department store was launched, they hired so-called elite people from famous universities as employees, which enabled it to build the close relationship with scholars and culture. They have also made contribution to good cultural dissemination since the Meiji era. It is natural that employees at Mitsukoshi Department Store have pride of their company.

⁸ *Gift from Customers* (2008) p.45

⁹ In Nihombashi Mitsukoshi headquarters there are many decorations reminding us of Echigoya.

Another factor which creates the customer excitement is the idea of “treating customers equally.” Kindness to a customer who is in need, not to an expensive shopper, causes impressions from a third-party perspective. In fact, *Gifts from Customers* includes many letters by third parties who witnessed the scenes of kindness, and wrote “I was impressed to see such a kind act of a staff,”

The omotenashi customer service raises the value of Mitsukoshi Department Store rather than only pushing sales. In other words, the salesperson and the customers enjoy sharing the scene and feel “we like Mitsukoshi.” This is the co-creation of value by the staffs and customers, or the “unity among the host and the guest” as in *chanoyu*. In *chanoyu*, the host prepares everything for the guest; chooses the utensil, the flower, and makes *cha*. The customers who understand and react to this omotenashi behaviors properly create the sense of unity. In Mitsukoshi Department Store, they co-created the value of the place through salespersons who prepare with their hearts, attracting customers who appreciate and are deeply moved by the considerate behaviors of the salespersons.

The feeling that “I like Mitsukoshi” of the customers leads to improvement in employee engagement, as a person responsible of “ba”. The staff with high engagement with the organization act voluntarily for customers, even if it is not a prescribed task, which enhances customer engagement. Communication with salespeople increases the value of “being a customer of a wonderful department store.” The words showing the customer’s intense feeling for Mitsukoshi will boost employee engagement.

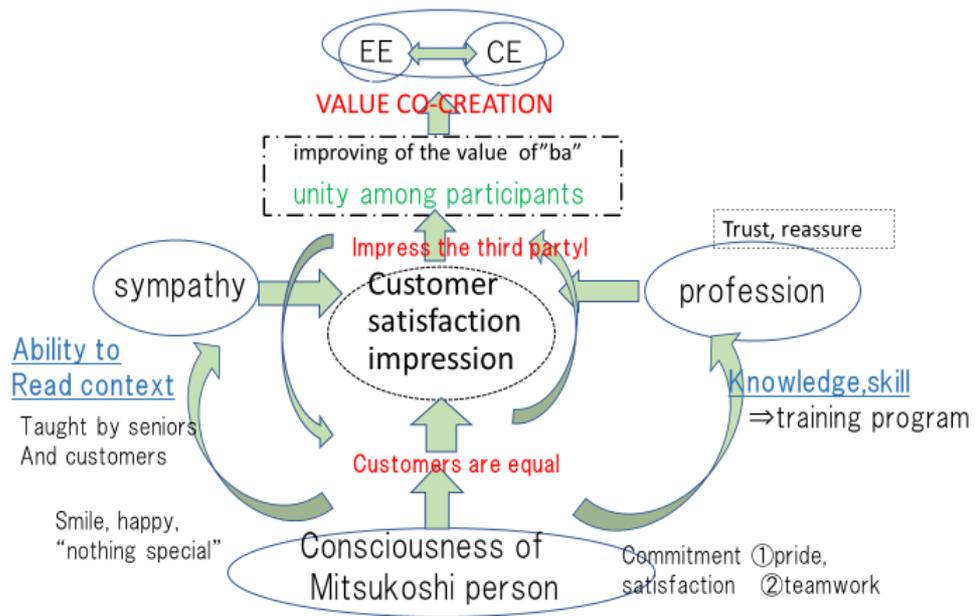
The customers highly engaged to Mitsukoshi Department Store are also good educators for the salespeople. In the interview, Mr. Ozawa (the manager of kimono floor), repeatedly said, “We have learned from our customers.” He talked about his experience of being invited by his customer as follows: he visited the customer. All the family trusted him so that they said, “We will buy everything you recommends, because you always suggest us of what is suitable for us.” In the interview, Mr. Ozawa said to me that since then he has made every effort to improve his sense and knowledge to choose good items for his customers, and now he did not care about how to sell; he learned it is essential to build good relationships with his customers as person.

Mr. Ozawa, through his “sense and knowledge”, has provided further values to other customers. “We give a customer some information on the item, but it is what we have learned from other customers. As knowledge increases, we have more good customers.”

In this way, omotenashi customer service at Mitsukoshi Department Store leads to customer satisfaction and impression, which leads to increase the value of the whole store. By encouraging the co-creation of

value rather than short-term sales, the company has succeeded in raising the long-term customer engagement at its department stores, engaging salespeople, and increasing sales. Figure 7-2 shows this relationship.

Figure7- 2 Mechanism of Omotenashi of Value Co-Creation of “ba”



At the end of this section, I would like to state that omotenashi exists among customers to improve the value of the department store. In Mitsukoshi Department Store, the customers are concerned about each other, and often create a pleasant space together. In *Gifts from Customers* there are many examples of customers’ helping each other. I also encountered similar scenes at Nihombashi Mitsukoshi. In the morning, about 30 people waited for the store to open. A female customer in her thirties sitting in a chair got up quickly and offered her chair to an elderly woman with a smile. At a counter, a female customer said, “Please serve the lady over there first. I am not in a hurry.” On the other floor, a customer cradles a baby of another customer. This is omoteanshi behavior not only among the parties but also for viewers, giving a feeling of comfort, enhancing the impression that “shopping at Mitsukoshi Department Store is always comfortable,” leading to further value co-creation.

1-4 Discussion

1-4-1. Comparison with Nordstrom

Then, how is Mitsukoshi's omotenashi customer service different from Nordstrom's hospitality? Nordstrom is also known for the principle of “not saying No to customers.” They accept “returned goods” even if they are not sold at Nordstrom. If they have no item the customer is looking for, the salesperson purchases it from a rival shop. They have various legends of customer service based on the “customer first principles.”

In Mitsukoshi and Nordstrom, the acts of salespersons on the surface appear almost the same. Their top priority is responding to customer's demand. Furthermore, salespersons at both stores keep smiling, trying to read and understand customers' feelings and purposes, emphasizing longer-term relationships.

However, as to what motivate their behaviors, they are largely different from each other. In Nordstrom, each salesperson sets a goal as a businessman with an entrepreneurial spirit, and the mechanism has been established to earn income that matches the effort. According to *The Nordstrom Way to Customer Service Excellence* (2005), they believed that “what makes Nordstrom unique is its culture of motivated, empowered employees, each with an entrepreneurial spirit to give great customer service.” (p.117) With regard to how to motivate good salespeople, they put focus on commission. In the same book, they wrote that “commission sales a prime reason why Nordstrom salespeople embrace the empowerment that the company affords them.” (p.126) “All Nordstrom salespeople are paid an hourly wage, but were they make their real money is on the bonuses give them added incentive to work harder, and by working harder, they are able to build a loyal customer following” (p.125). In Nordstrom, salespeople are always exposed to competition. For them, “competition both external and internal strokes their competitive fires” (p.126). It is natural the salespeople at Nordstrom do not forget to ask customers to remember their names. That is why they think they have to provide an excellent service to give a strong impression. The salespeople face severe survival competition daily at Nordstrom. In fact, nearly half of new recruits fall out within two years of joining, as “those who do not have a tough mind to sell could not survive” (Mitsubishi, 1997). In addition, their goal is nothing but “selling.” They expressly state as follows: “Nordstrom is about selling. You don't rack up more than 15 billion dollars in annual sales by just smiling and being nice” (p.124). Below is a concept map of “Nordstrom way of providing Hospitality.”(Figure7-2)

Figure7-2 the mechanism of leading hospitality to sales according to Nordstrom



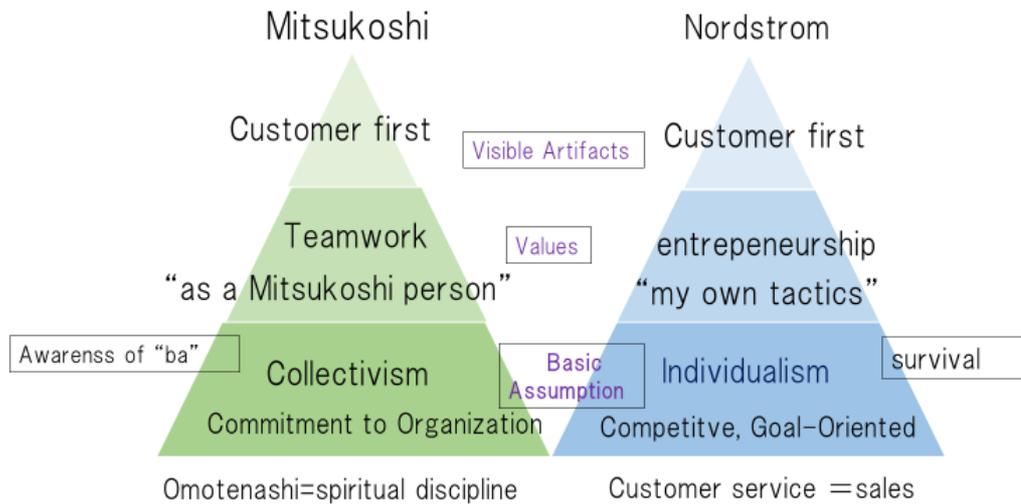
On the other hand, at Mitsukoshi Department Store, each salesperson is not an entrepreneur who creates sales, but a member of a “team” and cooperates to achieve customer satisfaction. They have a strong sense of belonging as “Mitsukoshi people.” For them, the customer is “a customer of Mitsukoshi, not of a particular salesperson.” Therefore, in *Gifts from Customers*, there are an overwhelming number of cases where salespeople do not mention their names, even if the customer asks. They often say, “I did nothing special,” or “everyone at Mitsukoshi will do the same thing for you.” It contrasts sharply with Nordstrom salespeople trying to appeal to customers for survival.

In Nordstrom they prioritize sales of “individual salesperson,” while in Mitsukoshi they prioritize the whole value of the department store. In Mitsukoshi, they think it most important to fulfill their roles for the betterment of the organization, not to not claim self-interest, while at Nordstrom, each salesperson acts with the recognition that “I am my own boss” to the end. In this sense, Nordstrom salespeople do not regard themselves as “people of Nordstrom.”

It is also worth mentioning that at Mitsukoshi, they pursue omotenashi customer service, as “do” of spiritual discipline. For them, it is not to be efficient or streamlined. In contrast, individual achievement and competitiveness is to be valued at Nordstrom. Here, Mitsukoshi people and Nordstrom people are strikingly different from each other. Figure 7-3 compares the two using an iceberg model Sato et. al. (2014)

based on Schein (2010).

Figure7-3 Comparison between Mitsukoshi and Nordstrom form a perspective of culture



The spirit of omotenashi as basis of customer service at Mitsukoshi Department Store has been handed down among employees (from seniors to juniors) within the company. However, there is now a tendency to measure employee capabilities through examinations of certification due to the need for a personnel system that emphasizes transparency and efficiency. A person expressed his concern in the interview that the relationship between seniors and juniors has been diluted. It is unavoidable that they should address themselves to the issue of building a system in which traditional values and efficiency coexist, based on the relationships among employees, in order to maintain the quality of omotenashi customer service.

2 The Similarities and Differences Between Omotenashi and Hospitality

This chapter consists of two parts. In the early part of the chapter, I will compare two department stores, Mitsukoshi Department Store and Nordstrom, and two accommodation providers, the Kagaya ryokan and the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in order to clarify the similarities and differences between omotenashi in a high context culture and hospitality in a low context culture. In the latter half, I will move on to discuss the characteristics of omotenashi provided at the Imperial Hotel, Tokyo, which was established as a western-style grand hotel in the Meiji period, in accordance with one of the national policies prevalent at the time, but which now has a reputation for omotenashi. Then, I will consider the Imperial Hotel, in relation to the comparison of Kagaya and the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, to examine more closely the differences between omotenashi in a high context culture and hospitality in a low context culture.

2-1 Comparison between Mitsukoshi Department Store, Nordstrom, Kagaya, and the Ritz-Carlton Hotel

The comparison between Mitsukoshi Department Store and Nordstrom in the previous section revealed that even though the two appear similar on the surface, they differ in the following aspects:

- 1) While Nordstrom employees work as “individuals” in a fierce competition for survival, at Mitsukoshi Department Store, everyone serves the customers with the self-consciousness expressed by the phrase, “I am a Mitsukoshi person.”
- 2) While each Nordstrom employee has a strong mentality that “this is my customer,” the mindset at Mitsukoshi Department Store is “this is a Mitsukoshi customer.”
- 3) While serving customers at Nordstrom contributes to the individual sales performance of each member of sales staff, the omotenashi at Mitsukoshi contributes more to improving the value of the “*ba*” than to increasing sales. This approach is tied to the commitment of both the employees and customers.
- 4) The omotenashi behavior at Mitsukoshi Department Store is perceived as a human quality rather than a skill, and the related training program heavily focuses on growth as a human being.

With regard to the comparison between Mitsukoshi Department Store and Nordstrom, I drew on Sato and Al-Alsheikh(2014), which discussed the comparison between Kagaya and the Ritz-Carlton Hotel.. Below is a comparison between four organizations: Mitsukoshi Department Store, Nordstrom, Kagaya,

and the Ritz-Carlton Hotel.

2-1-1 Comparison between Mitsukoshi Department Store and Kagaya

First, I will show the similarities in customer service between those two organizations as follows:

- 1) They share the ability of “reading the air.” Instead of asking the customers what they want, they observe them with empathy, try to understand their feelings and respond to unspoken demands.
- 2) Each person takes the initiative (instead of waiting for the superior’s judgment) to satisfy the customers’ needs. Both companies endorse this attitude.
- 3) The employees believe that the organization, not their efforts, creates customer satisfaction. “I can demonstrate my abilities only because I belong to this organization named Kagaya.” (Hosoi 2006, p. 48)
- 4) Both believe that human qualities are essential to customer service. For this reason, customer service training is seen as a “place for humanistic education” (Hosoi 2010, p. 114).
- 5) They share the connection between the employees and the company. The employees believe that the company “brought them up.”

On the other hand, there is one difference. At Kagaya, the relationship with its employees is tighter, forming, something akin to a family (Hosoi 2006, p. 202). The *Okami* treats her employees with a mother-like presence, which can be partially explained by the fact that many of these employees are mothers of young children who feel that Kagaya is the only place where they can work. Kagaya is, therefore, seen by such female employees as a “home” where they can feel at ease (Hosoi 2006, p.116). The *ryokan* also created the Kangaroo House nursery school to “offer a place where the employees can work free of worries.” It is not surprising, therefore, that many employees think they and their children owe what they are to Kagaya. “All Kangaroo House kids are children of the Kagaya family. It makes us happy to see them grow up as good kids,” says a room service lady. She adds that mothers raising children have a strong sense of mutual support, even if each has a different background (Hosoi 2010, p.158).

One of the key aspects of Kagaya, which is also related to what was described in the previous paragraph, is that the employees are devoted to the company. “Due to an eternal gratitude to this inn,” says a room service professional, “I want to work for Kagaya for my entire life” (Hosoi 2006, p.84). A mother of two small children, who was feeling at a loss after getting divorced, was introduced to Kagaya and later hired. In the following years, she would continue to struggle with disease and an injury to one of her

children, caused by an accident, but she managed to survive thanks to the *Okami*'s consideration and support. "Kagaya has looked after my entire family for many years. Now, it is my turn to repay them," she comments (Hosoi 2010, p.161).

2-1-2 Comparison between Kagaya and the Ritz-Carlton Hotel

Despite the differences between a *ryokan* and a hotel, they share the approach of trying to impress the customers by anticipating their needs before they express them and thereby increase the number of returning guests. The content of the service provided by the employees is almost the same.

The second point in common is that this high-grade customer service is not based on rigorous adherence to a manual, but the initiative of each employee. Both of these companies encourage or authorize their employees to make their own decisions for the customers. At the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, "empowerment" is regarded as an important element to maintain a sense of "impressive service" (the word "empowerment" refers to providing authority to the employees; in the case of the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, each employee is allowed to make decisions costing up to 2,000 dollars a day.) Kagaya also applies the concept of empowerment in a broad sense. However, in the case of Kagaya, "the responsibility borne by each employee is heavier than in any other *ryokan*. If a mistake is made, no matter by whom, the person in charge is always held accountable," says the manager of a travel agency with which it has a long-term partnership (Hosoi 2010, p. 97).

So, what are the differences between Kagaya and the Ritz-Carlton Hotel? Sato and Al-alsheikh (2014), who made a comparative analysis of the western-type hospitality and the Japanese *omotenashi*, point out that while the hospitality of western-type hotels depends on external factors, that of *ryokan* do not, even if the content of the service provided is similar on the surface. This is also related to the difference between tip-based western-type hotels and no-tipping Japanese *ryokan*. That is, in American and European hotels, an employee who offers a superior service should be rewarded with an economic return. In *ryokan*, in contrast, there is no direct financial reward from the customer to the employee. The relationship between the service provider and the customer is similar to the relationship between the host and the guest at *chanoyu*. According to Kagaya's former CEO Yoshihiko Oda, *omotenashi* is about "pleasing the other person, regardless of profit or loss, and feeling pleasure from that experience yourself (Oda, 2015). "In the case of a hotel, fees are added to the basic accommodation rate according to the guest's intentions, whereas in a *ryokan*, the meals are already included in the initial rate." (Hosoi 2006, p. 198)

It is also true that, at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, they tend to provide “easier-to-understand” services because it leads to generous tips. For example, according to a researcher who participated in new employee training at the hotel, a senior employee showed how they placed as many things as they could on the serving cart when they were called by the customer (HBR). For them, any preparation is meaningless unless it is noticed and appreciated by the customer. Meanwhile, at Kagaya, the service behavior is not so explicit. Instead of “putting as many things on the serving cart,” it is likely that at a *ryokan* the employee would quietly make the necessary arrangements, observe the behavior of the customer, and casually offer the most suitable item to the customer.

The second difference, also mentioned in the previous section, is the relationship between the company and its employees. Kagaya is bound by the feeling of gratitude. A room service waitress, who says, “I want to express my gratitude to the company through kindness to the customers” (Hosoi 2010, p.82), suggests that the Japanese feeling of “gratitude” is tied to the motivation of *omotenashi*. In contrast, the relationship at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel seems not to go beyond that of company and employee. The hotel operates using the concept that the “quality of service is proportional to the dedication of its employees,” which is almost the same as Kagaya, and it is enhanced by “symbols and ceremonies that bring a sense of unity” (HBR, p. 137).

The third difference is related to the underlying sense of responsibility among the employees. At Kagaya, the room staff have to deal not only with the requests from the guests they are responsible for but also assume other roles such as bellhop, porter, and room service staff. It is possible to say that the room staff “do everything for the guests,” with no resistance to assuming multiple roles. Rather than a peculiarity of Kagaya, this way of thinking is considered familiar to most Japanese people. In western countries, however, the underlying culture is different. The mentality is that each employee has a clearly defined set of responsibilities, and the salary is received for executing the prescribed tasks. Hayashi (1994) explains this difference with the concept of O-type organizations (“O” for “Organic”; the boundary between roles is unclear, and the work that does not fit anywhere must be completed by each employee complementing each other, as in the case of Japanese organizations) and M-type organizations (“M” for “Mechanic”; the role of each person is clearly defined, and as long as everyone does their job, the final goal is reached, as in the case of many western countries.)

At the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, even though employees are encouraged to take the initiative and execute not only the tasks they were assigned to, the culture described above is rooted at its core. For this reason,

at new employee training sessions, the human resources manager promises that “doing extra work is never a disadvantage” (Hemp, p. 119). While the Ritz-Carlton Hotel is focused on bringing in people with suitable qualities for hospitality, and the new employees certainly are aware of the importance of customer service, it is questionable whether the concept of doing extra work not being a disadvantage really motivates them to go the extra mile.

2-1-3 Comparison between the Ritz-Carlton Hotel and Nordstrom

The Ritz-Carlton Hotel and Nordstrom have many things in common. The first is that the employees tend to use external factors for motivation. At the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, the service offered comes back in the form of a tip. At Nordstrom, it is not possible to survive the competition without providing outstanding service and increasing sales.

Also, both have a low-context culture and tend to offer “easy-to-understand” services to the customers.

In contrast, an analysis of employee training activities reveals the differences between the two companies. The Ritz-Carlton Hotel has established guidelines such as “Credo” and “The Ritz-Carlton Basics” and uses occasions such as morning assemblies to promote its employee training (the “Ritz-Carlton Way” of training.) It also performs periodic training and has developed its own performance evaluation system. Compared to the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, which emphasizes quality maintenance through human resource development and training, Nordstrom seeks to leave its employees to their own voluntary judgment instead of imposing training based on a standardized program. As the company’s saying “the sales staff themselves make the decisions” goes, Nordstrom expects its sales personnel to make their own decisions, elaborate on their unique ideas and execute them.

2-1-4 Comparison between Mitsukoshi Department Store and the Ritz-Carlton Hotel

Below are the aspects shared by the two companies:

- 1)The employees anticipate the customer’s request and respond to it without being asked.
- 2)Both act according to the circumstance.
- 3)High consciousness about the organization’s brand, as well as the pride of working there.

Below are the differences:

- 1) Whether the customer service provided by the employee is easy to understand or not
- 2) How the employees consider their “roles” allocated by the organization

3) Whether they believe that the customer service should be based on human development

4) How the employees are motivated

The above points have been described in detail in the previous section.

Drawing on the comparisons between Mitsukoshi Department Store and Nordstrom, as well as Kagaya and the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, their activities may seem identical on the surface. The key to the difference lies in the framework of “a high context culture versus a low context culture”.

The next part is dedicated to a hotel that is midway between a high context culture and a low context culture, and incorporates both elements; that is, it offers the highest level of omotenashi in a high context culture at a facility of a low context culture. What kind of service do they offer, and what happens in this hotel?

2-2 The differences between a high context culture and a low context culture: the Imperial Hotel

2-2-1 An overview of the Imperial Hotel

I have chosen the Imperial Hotel as an example that offers omotenashi customer service in a high-context culture in a facility of a low-context culture. To show the reason why the hotel has been chosen here, I will explain briefly the history of the foundation of the Imperial Hotel.

The Imperial Hotel was founded in 1890 as a symbol of the Europeanization policy of the Japanese government. Back then, when the Japanese government was waving the flag of westernization, it had to clearly demonstrate that its people had an equal level of culture as Europeans. Therefore, the Imperial Hotel was assigned the role of becoming a “Japanese hotel for foreign guests that could compete with the grand hotels around the world.” To reach this goal, it would have to offer a completely westernized service as the first authentic European-style hotel in Japan.

The fact that the guests in the first years of business were key figures from western countries represents the characteristics of the hotel. That is, it symbolized the character of a low-context hotel. The Japanese guests were often aristocrats, or the new nobility who had risen to positions of power due to the country’s rapid industrialization. They accepted the request of the new government and adopted the European style as their code of conduct. The service at the hotel was provided by Japanese staff. Although it was temporarily managed by Westerners at the beginning, it was later switched over to Japanese administration.

Now, the Imperial Hotel is famed for so-called “Japanese style of omotenashi.” In fact, the customer

service that embodies the “spirit of Japanese omotenashi” has been highly appreciated among the guests from abroad as well as at home.

At the Imperial Hotel, which started by transplanting a system of a completely low-context culture, they offer a high-grade customer service of a high context culture. How does the customer service differ from Kagaya, at which they also offer a customer service of a high context culture, or from the customer service of the Ritz-Carlton Hotel of a low-context culture?

2-2-2 The history

The Imperial Hotel was a “hotel that the country needed. A first-class European-style hotel was imperative to welcome and accommodate the noble guests from abroad.” (15) The efforts by Kaoru Inoue to revise unequal treaties, and the spirit of modernization that took over the nation led to the birth of the Imperial Hotel. The movement was originated by a group of 11 members, including Eiichi Shibusawa, Kihachiro Okura, Soichiro Asano, Yanosuke Iwasaki, and Zenjiro Yasuda, who followed Kaoru Inoue’s instructions. The group of investors was joined by the Imperial Household, which became the largest shareholder, and was followed by other wealthy families and businessmen. The first manager of the hotel was an American man named C. S. Arthur, who was invited from the Yokohama Grand Hotel. There were some issues with financial mis-management in the early days, but, despite this, it is said that the employee training was rigorous since its inauguration. In 1909, Kihachiro Okura was appointed as the chairman of the company and dismissed six foreign employees, including the manager (who had abused his authority and delivered poor financial results), the chef, and room staff. “From this point on, the general management of the hotel will be supervised by suitable Japanese staff,” he said, putting an end to the management by foreigners and appointing a Japanese manager. This move is believed to be related to the revision of the unequal treaty imposed by Western powers and the victory in the Russo-Japanese War.

In 1909, Aisaku Hayashi, an antique dealer from the Kansai region and worked for Yamanaka Shokai (a trading company with a New York branch, was appointed as Manager of the Hotel. By presenting and trading Japanese works of art such as *ukiyo-e* prints, Hayashi had gained absolute confidence from Rockefeller and other aristocrats and collectors around the world. Not only did he understand the value of Japan’s unique beauty and traditions but was also familiar with the feelings and mentality of the westerners. Because of Hayashi’s measures such as service improvement and welfare program, the Imperial Hotel flourished with foreign guests.

Following Japan's defeat in World War II, the Imperial Hotel went on to change its management plan and role according to the national policy. It is worth mentioning that it was heavily influenced by GHQ because of the American ideology which the country was under.

In 2010, to celebrate 120 years since its founding, the company held a series of events with the slogan "Tradition Inspires the Future." One of these events was an exhibition about the Imperial Hotel's omotenashi. When asked about the commemorative event in an interview for the *Hotel Ryokan Management*, Mr. Hideya Sadayasu, the hotel's general manager, replied that it "successfully portrayed the Imperial Hotel's identity – its tradition, history, culture, and its spirit of omotenashi," and emphasized that (the Imperial Hotel) is a "hotel Made in Japan."

2-2-3 Omotenashi provided at the Imperial Hotel —in Comparison with the Ritz-Carlton Hotel

What is the difference in the customer service offered by the Ritz-Carlton Hotel and the Imperial Hotel? One of the most frequently cited characteristics of the Imperial Hotel's omotenashi customer service, especially when compared with the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, is the fact that it "focuses on the perfection of things that do not immediately stand out." Kawana (2006), who explained the Imperial Hotel's omotenashi from six dimensions – "foundation," "sincerity," "trust," "carefulness," "memory," and "training" – mentions this aspect at the very beginning, emphasizing that the company does not compromise on "things that look the same at first glance." "The job of the room service section," says Koike (2013), "is to make sure the customer has a comfortable time in their room. This includes, for example, checking whether a buckwheat pillow or a humidifier have been arranged according to the customer's request, if flowers have been arranged on the table, or even serving dinner in the room; the content of the job is wide-ranging. However, since the job of the room service section starts from cleaning the room, it is my responsibility and the guest attendants' to check whether the room has been properly cleaned before receiving the customer, and this is the basic premise of omotenashi" (p. 18) Ms. Koike, regarded as legendary room staff with fans in Japan and abroad, began her career cleaning bathrooms. More than simply a new employee's initiation, she believes it was meant to deepen the understanding that "cleaning (hygiene) is the foundation of omotenashi."

Other examples of "things that look the same at first glance" include keeping good air in the room. The secret is to "behave like an invisible servant." Ms. Koike, who used to take Ms. Takeya as a model for her work as room staff, says that her mentor "would quietly concentrate on her work and try to keep a

low profile. Never did she behave as if saying, 'I am working hard like this for you' or make a showy performance. Her work was always calm and humble... I inherited this attitude from her. What I learned about the spirit of omotenashi from Ms. Takeya is that: (i) Never behave condescendingly; (ii) No pretentious performance is ever needed; (iii) Always put the customer's situation first and deal with it with a warm heart; and (iv) Be solicitous with the customer's comfort at the hotel, but in a subtle way" (119).

They put values on the subtlety at the Imperial Hotel. "Our service is not meant to be loud. It becomes elegant when performed in an unassuming and subtle manner" (Kawana, p. 84).

According to Inumaru (2012), the conditions required in a hotel person, from the management position, is to "Be patient, if you want to do something for the guest. Do not ask things immediately. The key is always to be discreet" (p. 61).

The Spirit of Imperial Hotel's Omotenashi, a collection of omotenashi episodes, also describes its omotenashi as a thorough consideration to small details that are barely visible. The concept that sees no problem in a job not being noticed, or even prefers the kind of consideration that goes unnoticed, is tied to the spirit of the tea ceremony. It is the opposite of the example of the Ritz-Carlton Hotel. (A tipping system is not applied at the Imperial Hotel.)

Ms. Koike also points out that this kind of "subtle omotenashi" is "typically Japanese" (p. 119). Although she does not use these exact words, it may reflect the essence of omotenashi in a high-context culture.

2-2-4 What supports the Imperial Hotel's Omotenashi – in Comparison with Kagaya

I analyzed the characteristics of the omotenashi of the Imperial Hotel through a comparison with the Ritz-Carlton hotel as above. In this section, I would like to make a comparison with Kagaya. While Kagaya offers a high grade of omotenashi in a high-context culture at a facility of a high-context culture (building and organization), the Imperial Hotel offers a high grade omotenashi of a high-context culture in a facility of a completely low-context culture (building and organization).

The employees of the Imperial Hotel set no limit to their roles and make every effort to please the guests. In this point, they have much in common with the employees of Kagaya. Both read context and act subtly in consideration of the guest's feelings. Both share the culture of mutual help among the room service personnel. So, what are the differences?

One remarkable difference is the relationship between management and the employees. As previously

mentioned, at Kagaya, the managers (especially the *Okami*) and the employees are tied with a strong bond that resembles that of a family. The *Okami* is a mother or grandmother-like presence to her employees and their children, and the employees feel gratitude to the *Okami*.

The relationship at the Imperial Hotel is completely different. While some employees see the company as their benefactor, the labor-management relationship at the Imperial Hotel has been historically tense in general. In 1946, soon after the war, a labor union was established in the Imperial Hotel, influenced by GHQ. The union was formed by the employees to protect themselves from the non-Japanese managers who would fire them too easily. The fact that the in the early years, employees of the Imperial Hotel were initially limited to men may be related to the establishment of the union.

Ever since, the Imperial Hotel's union has negotiated a wage reform with the management (with a result that they realized the wage system on which the employees are able to make a living without tips), as well as the improvement of the workplace environment and better opportunities for technical learning. Occasionally, they dared to go on strike in order to protect their own rights. While the customer service activities appear typically Japanese on the surface and associated to a high-context culture, the system and organization has obviously the traits of a low-context culture.

The second difference is also related to the type of organization. While the Kagaya employees work with the mindset of "I am Kagaya person," at the Imperial Hotel, the employees are self-conscious that they are "a hotel person" above anything else. "The employees of other hotels have a strong mentality of working in a company. There is a sense of company employees, not hotel persons. At the Imperial Hotel, the 'hotel person mentality' is undoubtedly strong" (Okui, p. 70). It is the idea of having pride in working at the Imperial Hotel as a hotel person. Okui draws various ideas of working at the hotel from the employees of the Imperial Hotel in his interviews. According to Okui, the interviewees often talked about "pride as a hotel person" and "this is what a hotel person does." Even though these terms are not clearly defined, judging from the context as a whole, it is possible to infer that these are professionals with a strong spirit of "keeping a professional attitude, without becoming conceited with the Imperial Hotel brand" and "focusing on their work, sparing no efforts to improve themselves." Regardless of the position, they are highly ambitious about their work and acquire various qualifications and participate in seminars, constantly pursuing a higher level of perfection. The Imperial Hotel also deliberately provides a space for each employee to think independently, express their opinion and discuss themes that directly affect the organization.

This analysis, however, raises a question. The fact that each employee has a hotel-person mentality suggests that they tend to be individualistic. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the employees collaborate each other, as a team, to create a perfectly comfortable space for the customers—even if their efforts are often unnoticed-- at the Imperial Hotel. The reason why they are able to do this is found in the concepts of “cosmopolitan” and “local” proposed by Gouldner (1957, 1958), based on the degree of the expertise and the sense of belonging to the organization. Gouldner classifies the organizations as cosmopolitan and local from the perspective of role and identity. In a cosmopolitan organization, the employees are self-aware of their profession and highly committed to organizations consisting of experts (e.g., academic meeting), but they have little sense of belonging to the organization. Meanwhile, in a local organization, the employee has high loyalty to the organization he/she belongs to, and they have a little sense of being a specialist.

According to the definition of Gouldner, Kagaya is clearly a local group. The employees belong to the organization with a true sense of a family and seek to fulfill the roles allocated to them. The employee improves a certain service skill as she wants to make a contribution to the entire team Kagaya, rather than as an independent room staff. In contrast, in the case of the Imperial Hotel, the employees repeatedly use the phrase “as a hotel person,” indicating that they have a stronger sense of being a cosmopolitan than that of a member of the Imperial Hotel. At the same time, Okui (pp. 32,34,37,51,54) points out that the employees frequently express their desires to improve their skills, saying “I want to study more,” “My desire is to broaden my horizons and let people know more about hotels... I want to reach perfection.” It shows that the employees are engaged in improving their skills as specialists just as mastering some discipline. As pointed out by Gouldner, cosmopolitans with high technical knowledge and expertise, combined with a strong professional mentality, have difficulty to settle in an organization. At the Imperial Hotel, the employees are encouraged to take the opportunities for skill improvement (e.g., taking the initiative to participate in seminars, getting qualifications, and others), and even receive necessary supports provided by the hotel. This atmosphere creates a comfortable environment for the cosmopolitans. Some of them would even think it is necessary for the employees to think about increasing the quality of the organizational culture “to provide more sophisticated service as a hotel person” (Okui, p. 37). In this case, the study to improve an individual skill leads to a better performance of the entire organization, and at the same time, it leads to the satisfaction on the part of the employee who has improved his skill.

2-3 Conclusion

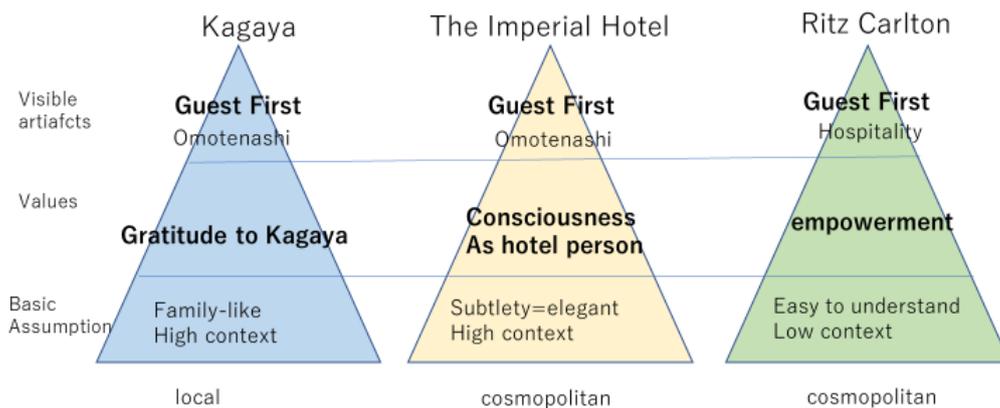
The table below summarizes the comparison between Kagaya, the Ritz-Carlton, and the Imperial Hotel with a frame of high-context culture versus a low-context culture. (Table7-2)

Table 7-2 comparison among Kagaya, the Ritz-Carlton, and the Imperial Hotel

	Structure (organizacion)	Provider	Guest (receiver)	Motivation of the Emoloyees
Kagaya	High-Context Culture	High-Context Culture	High-Context Culture	Internal factors (e.g., gratitude, family)
Ritz	Low-Context Culture	Low-Context Culture	Low-Context Culture	External factors (financial)
The Imperial Hotel	Low-Context Culture	High-Context Culture	Low/High Culture	Internal factors (as professionals)

When represented as a diagram using Sato’s iceberg model, which is based on Schein’s three-layer structure, it becomes as follows:

Figure 7-4
Comparison of customer service among Kagaya,Imperial Hotel & Ritz



The activities of service provided by Kagaya, the Imperial Hotel, and the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, may seem nearly identical on the surface. The values that support those actions, however, are largely different. At Kagaya, there is an underlying sense of gratitude among the employees to the manager (*Okami*), which

is linked to a higher quality of omotenashi offered to the customer. At the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, the tip and empowerment-based system brings out the motivation of each employee and high-quality service. At the Imperial Hotel, along with the independence as a hotel person, the employees share the pride and satisfaction of working for the company, and these lead to the improvement of the quality of omotenashi.

VIII Conclusion

1 Summary

In this chapter, the findings of the research questions of this study are summarized. This dissertation focuses on the three research questions. First question is: What, how and why customer values are created in omotenashi. The mechanism of creating values is to be clarified. From the point, the value created in omotenashi is not just on the part of customer; rather, it is a mechanism of value co-creation in omotenashi. Second question is: how the level of education on the part of participants have effects on the individual value in omotenashi. Third question is: How the omotenashi spirit or mechanism has been inherited by contemporary business practice. Additional question appeared from the research. It is related to the difference between omotenashi of high context culture and hospitality of low context culture.

I would like to summarize the findings to these questions respectively. First, as to the characteristics of customer value created in omotenashi, and the mechanism of creating customer value, I dealt with the banquets of *Manyo-shu* as the origin of omotenashi, and analyzed the value of participation in those banquets. As a result, in the banquet, the participants prioritized the value of the whole place, or “ba” rather than their own (selfish) purposes related to exhibiting their skill and getting acquainted with influential person. They voluntarily attempted to enliven the atmosphere and enhance the whole values of “ba.” Participants were required to do these things: 1) to read the consideration of the host, including the intention of omotenashi which was implied in things or decoration, 2) to play their roles (according to implicit rules), make their poems suitable for the occasion, and behave properly. They should make efforts to boost the mood based on “kata” to respond to the host’s concerns, and 3) to read the air with each other. Participants felt satisfied and pleased when they recognized the enhancement of the value of “ba” because of everyone’s efforts, and when the participants thought that they themselves were engaged in, or contributed to, the enhancement of the value of “ba.” In other words, in the banquet, there happened value co-creation between host and guests, rather than unilateral value provided by the host to the participants.

In the co-creation of value of the banquet of omotenashi, the host is expected to make preparation for the participants suitable for the purpose of the occasion. Participants are to read the intention of omotenashi of the host, and to play their own roles to enliven the atmosphere. In omotenashi above, the

whole value of “ba” was higher than the sum of the values created by the participants respectively, including host and guests.

The mechanism of co-creation of value of omotenashi seen in the banquet of *Manyo-shu* was taken over as it is in the *renga* gatherings of the Middle Ages. *Renga* comprised a popular literary genre for 900 years, from the end of the Heian period to the Edo period. Basically, *renga* are chains of short poems and consist of two or more phrases composed collaboratively by several people in turns. Participants were supposed to contribute through reciprocal cooperation to the completion of a long poem with some coherence. In those days, *renga* gatherings were often held after some meetings or events as entertainment. In *renga* gatherings, participants were required to understand deeply the previous phrases made by others, not to show off their techniques, to focus on the overall flow, to be aware of their own role (for example, important words such as “flower” or “moon” could only be used by people of high status and/or by masters of *renga*), and, above all, to share the motivation to complete good poems collaboratively. In this respect, *renga* gatherings strengthened the mechanism of co-creation of value of the *Manyo* banquet, and being connected with modern karaoke party.

There is another important point in the *renga* with regard to the diffusion of omotenashi. The introduction of textbooks and professionals (*renga* master) has made *renga* popular among ordinary people. Omotenashi seen in the *Manyo* banquet was limited to the closed circle of noblemen, or high-level officials. In this period, *renga* masters taught people the rules, “dos and don’ts” of *renga*. With the help of the *renga* masters, *renga* was developed from the accomplishment only of the aristocrat and the samurai to the commoners’ amusement. Moreover, it was not limited to large cities: *renga* became popular throughout the country. In considering the process in which omotenashi spirit and mechanism was spread throughout Japan, it is impossible to omit *renga* and *renga* gatherings,

There was a strong relationship between *renga* and *chanoyu*. Many *chanoyu* masters, including Rikyu, who established *chanoyu*, were originally well-versed in *renga*. In the *renga* gatherings, the participants were supposed to enliven the atmosphere to create the values of “ba”, while Rikyu eliminated elements of fun from the *renga* gatherings and introduced spirituality into the gathering. Rikyu put focus on the principle of establishment of unity among the gathering. Host is supposed to prepare carefully for the occasion, in order to serve the guest. What the host thought was not expressed by words, but were represented by a scroll, a flower, or an arrangement of utensils. Guests were required to understand and respond to his intention of omotenashi. And such behaviors of the guests impressed

the host. In the place of the omotenashi of *chanoyu*, or in other words, in the mechanism of value co-creation in omotenashi of *chanoyu*, there were no fixed host (provider) or guest (beneficiary). These two roles are replaced at any time between them. It is the exchange of roles between host and guest that improved the values of “ba”. Rikyu added spiritual meaning to omotenashi, and changed it into a kind of discipline. In modern times, *chanoyu* became *chado* or tea ceremony, when manners, morality and cultivation were added as new meaning or purpose. And then, *chado* was regarded as lesson of manners. In the practice of *chado*, pupils are supposed to learn how to sense the atmosphere rather than stick to “kata” of *chado*.

Regarding the second research question, "How does the level of education on the part of customer influence the value of individual participation in omotenashi?", the individual values of participation depend on whether the customer has high level of education or not, as already suggested in the study of Sato and Al-Alsheikh (2014). The effects of education on values of participation are seen in the *Manyo* banquet. For instance, in the *Manyo* banquet, where every participant was expected to make poems appropriate to the occasion and their own roles, it was necessary for them to have a certain education, that is, canonical education of Chinese literature. Just memorization of the phrase was not enough. Participants were required to make good use of the phrases, quote them properly, understand correctly if implied by someone, as well as they were expected to express how they were impressed by the poem. In those days, the host often tried to realize the scene of a particular Chinese poem for the guests by remodeling the garden according to the classic literature. The guests were supposed to understand the water before them represented a famous river described in the Chinese poem, or the mound before them represented a legendary mountain in the Chinese literature, and to appreciate the intention and efforts of the host. Omotenashi offered by the host was only completed when the guests succeeded in deciphering the consideration of the host. Therefore, in the *Manyo* banquet, the level of the education on the part of the participants was important for the success of omoteanshi.

The significance of the education on the part of the participants was even greater in *renga* gathering. In the *Manyo* banquet, enlivening the atmosphere was necessary, but the contents and poems were definitively prescribed by phases. In this sense, it may be said that in the *Manyo* banquet, it was easier to read the atmosphere and to create proper poems than in *renga* gathering. In *renga* gathering, participants were required to produce phrases that would constitute smooth and natural poetic development in the

context of the poem as well as respond, intelligently to the previous phrases. Superlative ability was required to join *renga* gathering, as the process of creating phrases was repeated in 100 times.

It is indispensable for the participant to have a certain knowledge of the classic literature (especially *The Tale of Genji*, *Kokinshu*, and other anthologies of poems) to enjoy *renga*. Participants made the most of their knowledge of classical literature in producing *renga* phrases, though they believed they should not show off such knowledge.

It is also important that the education of classics literature which had been exclusive to aristocrats were spread among the samurai and the commoners with *renga* and *renga* masters. Handbooks which summarized the story and the famous scenes of *The Tale of Genji* had already circulated at that time. Based on such education of classical culture, a rhetoric named *mitate* diffused among people in general. *Mitate* is a method a separated item is superimposed over an item that is being directly observed without logical explanation about why it appears that way, and enjoyed even today without consciousness.

In *chanoyu* which inherited the aesthetic world of *renga*, the education of the participants also had an importance, but rather in an indirect way. Without high education, it is possible to participate in *chanoyu* gathering. However, it is necessary to have a certain level of education to read the intention of the host through the flower or the utensils prepared by the host. For example, a host prepared a cup with a picture of iris, *kakitsubata*, in Japanese. If the guest only thinks “Oh, what a beautiful flower it is!”, it falls far short of his expectation. He should remember the *waka* from *Kokinshu*, “Karakoromo Kitsutsunarenishi tsumanisiareba habubarukinusu tabiwoshizoomou,” which expresses the solitude of a man who left his wife behind at home. And the guest should decipher the host’s consideration and appreciation to realize *omotenashi* in deeper level.

In this way, *omotenashi* behavior of the provider is often shown indirectly and implicitly. In addition, *omotenashi* is usually carried out by following the “*kata*”, but the meaning lies in the breaking a little the “*kata*.” The guest is expected to have a certain education to recognize where and why the “*kata*” has been broken, which is important to understand the host’s feelings.

As to the third question, “How does contemporary business practice inherit the *omotenashi* spirit or mechanism”, I dealt with the case of Mitsukoshi Department Store and the Imperial Hotel in comparison with the other department store and hotel in low context culture. At Mitsukoshi, employees acquire proficiency in the basic ability of reading the context behind the visitors, in other words, why the person

is buying the item. The focus is not on the manual or how to follow the “kata”, but on how to respond to customer's feelings (not limited to the “needs”). Each employee is supposed to acquire the discipline as a person. Mitsukoshi Department has the roots of their customer service in the spirit of *omotenashi*, in the sense that the employees put the value of the whole store (Mitsukoshi Department Store) before their own sales. To increase the value of “ba”, they are ready to solve any problems of the customers even if they know that they will gain nothing by the efforts, or they have no responsibility for that. For example, a person in the cloakroom is able to answer promptly a right department for the customer, if she/he is asked where to buy such and such things. A sales clerk is willing to push the wheelchair of the customer even if she is not in charge of it, or even if she buys just an inexpensive item. Such attitudes to the customers are also seen outside of the department store. A young employee at Mitsukoshi lends a hand for a customer who is in some trouble, and to make sure she will be able to contact with her daughter.

At Mitsukoshi Department Store, customers who receive the *omotenashi* behavior from the employees often treat other customer in a similar way; for example, they help others in trouble, give place to the seniors and so on. Here the *omotenashi* activities from the employee to the customer develop into the *omotenashi* activities between customers. It is possible to say that B to C business evolves into C to C at Mitsukoshi Department Store. Namely, the customer becomes an admirer, and acts as ambassador voluntarily to improve the brand of the department. In this development, the concept of *hinshu-gokan* in *chanoyu*, the exchange of the roles between host and guest, is realized.

The Imperial Hotel was established as a first-class Westernized hotel because it was the urgent issue for Japan at that time to join the European powers. Today they are famed for offering the Japanese style of *omoteanshi*. Their *omotenashi* service is provided in a subtle way at the Imperial Hotel: they regard obvious service as unpolished. Without care, guests could overlook the *omoteanshi*. At the Imperial Hotel, guests are expected to have the ability to understand the *omotenashi* behavior.

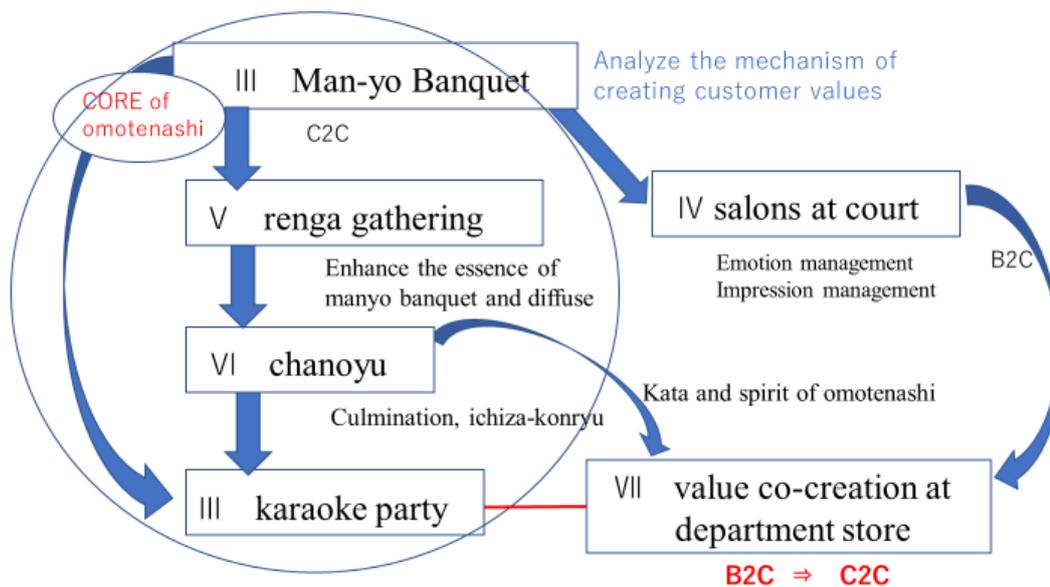
It is also important to point out that the employees at the hotel prioritize the value of the hotel as a whole over their own interests, and they make efforts to raise their skills as if they pursue something spiritual.

The additional question is "What is the difference between *omotenashi* of a high context culture and the hospitality of a low context culture." On a superficial level, they have much in common between Japanese style of *omotenashi* and western style of hospitality. At a hotel or first-rate *ryokan*, employees

will read and respond to needs, even if customers do not express what they think. A certain level of ability for reading the needs and solving the problem of customers could be acquired by joining training program.

However, there is a difference between them: hospitality behavior in a low context culture is easy to understand while omotenashi behavior in a high context culture is not. In hospitality of a low-context culture, customer is not expected to have reading ability, and thus, the hospitality behavior is understandable for anyone. In contrast, omotenashi depends on the customers comprehension, as it is based on the assumption that host and guest share the context. When the behavior is understood properly, it will bring deep emotion. When customers decipher the implied omotenashi and expressed their feelings (gratitude, joy, etc.), the employees will get a deep pleasure beyond financial rewards. And it will lead to further motivation for the employee, and to further engagement on the part of the customers in turn.

The concept map of the whole dissertation is as below.



2 Implications

1) Theoretical Contributions

This doctoral dissertation clarifies the mechanism of creating customer values in omotenashi. In omotenashi, values are neither provided to the customers nor created only by the customers. Values in

omotenashi are to be created both by hosts and guests collaboratively. The roles of hosts and guests are exchangeable in omotenashi. I explore the mechanism of value co-creation and the development of the mechanism tracing to the *Manyo* banquet, which has much in common with modern karaoke party with regard to the spirit of omotenashi. I also examined the difference between omotenashi and hospitality, during this research.

In previous research published in Japanese, studies of literature and aesthetics related to omotenashi are separated from those of marketing. For example, when a research discussed *chanoyu* within the field of aesthetics, it tends to have little connection to marketing. *Renga* is obviously the literary genre of value co-creation among participants, there is scarce research on it from a marketing viewpoint. In this dissertation, I used the literary works and research outcomes in the field of Japanese literature from a marketing viewpoint, as I believe literary works are of great significance as clues to examine the manifestation modes of omotenashi.

2) Practical Implications

As seen in discussion of a karaoke party, it is important for every participant to feel that he/she is contributing to the whole value of “ba”. Thus, it is advisable for the staffs and managers that they should introduce some systems in which every participant can make contribution and feel satisfaction. Training programs for employees should focus on how the customers get satisfied from the unity of “ba.” It is worth mentioning that *mitate* plays a role to communicate their spirit of omotenashi with customers. Trainers tend to overlook the importance of sharing the essential factor of how and why customers feel satisfied. In Japan, it is desirable for managers and employees to create the atmosphere where the customers enjoy contributing to creating unity among them,

As to high education necessary for omotenashi, employees should acquire such a high level of education, to meet the connoisseurs and lead them to further pleasures.

Regarding rewards, people with an omotenashi spirit are intrinsically motivated to provide excellent service for customers. They feel pride and pleasure in providing omotenashi. On this point, it is not preferable that managers put too much emphasis on the financial rewards for the employees. Instead, they should attempt to make effective systems for employees to improve their intrinsic motivation.

It is also advisable for the managers and the employees have the knowledge of impression management within Japanese context.

3 Limitations and Future Direction

In this dissertation, I did not refer to *shitsurae*, or the space where omotenashi is provided. Since the *Manyo* people's period, people have been caring about the space where they entertained and / or how they decorated for preparation. For example, in the *Manyo* banquet, the hosts prepared beautiful flower or plants for the purpose of the occasion. In the Heian period, noble people showed good taste of *shitsurae*, and it was associated with their characters. In the Muromachi period, daimyo enjoyed *tocha* in "kaisho" (meeting room), where they decorated sumptuously with their wealth. In contrast, *chanoyu* masters tried to eliminate secular things and to seek for the ideal tearoom. In modern times, *sukisha* were interested in architecture, and naturally, they preferred to create new tearoom, to their own taste. In the concept of omotenashi, space is inseparable to the heart of the host, because the space represents how the host has been waiting for you, and how much the host has been preparing for you. The analysis of servicescape, including the intriguing question about garden--how and why Chinese garden was introduced and changed into Japanese style--will lead to another horizon.

With regards to emotional management and impression management, I left room for next research.

I believe the spirit of omotenashi connects to the very concept of the Japanese language in essence. In the future, I would like to pursue this research on omotenashi together with other scholars of Japanese linguistics and comparative linguistics.

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